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VI.—THE LAYS OF GRAELEN'T AND LANVAL,
AND THE STORY OF WAYLAND.

I.

Thise olde gentil Britons in hir dayes
Of diverse aventures maden layes,
Rymeyed in hir firste Briton tonge;
Which layes with hir instruments they songe,
Or elles redden hem for hir plesaunce;
And oon of hem have I in remembraunce,
Which I shal seyn with good wil as I can.

Chaucer: Prologue to the Frankeleyn's Tale.

In the *Tristan* of Gottfried von Strassburg,¹ the hero comes all unknowing and unknown to the court of his uncle, King Mark, and charms the company there assembled by the melody of the music he makes on a harp.

Nu Tristan der begunde
einen leich dâ lâzen klingen in
von der vil stolzen friundîn
Grâlandes des schoenen
in britûnscher wise (3582 ff.).

¹ Ed. R. Bechstein, Leipzig, 1869 (*Deutsche Classiker*, VII), I, 129; cf. Miss Weston's translation, London, 1899, I, 25-26.

Fortunately we have preserved in Old French a *Lai de Graelent*¹ which answers well to the slight description here given, telling namely of the hero's relations with a very proud *amie*. This lay, moreover, was evidently intended to have a musical accompaniment. In one manuscript of the poem there is a stave of music under the first verse of each paragraph;² and, although it is difficult to say precisely what part this music could have played in the rendition of such a long narrative poem, there is no reason to doubt that when minstrels sang or recited our lay, at least at some time in its history, they took a harp in their hands, even as Tristan did at his uncle's court, and struck the notes softly.

But this was not the only lay sung in King Mark's hall that evening after meat. Before Tristan was invited to show his skill, he had listened to the harping of the court minstrel, who sang a lay "made by Britons of *Gurân* and his lady"—a lay with which he was already familiar, and which he now heard again with deep emotion. It would seem that this lay of *Gurân* should be identified with that sung by Tristan's own loved one, if we may believe the words³ of the Anglo-Norman poet Thomas, whose work, written about 1170, Gottfried translated in the beginning of the thirteenth century:

"In her room she [Yseult] was seated one day and made '*un lai pitus d'amur*.' It told how Guiron was surprised and killed for love of the lady who was dear to him above all

¹ The *Lai de Graelent* was first published by Roquefort in his *Poésies de Marie de France*, Paris, 1820, I, 486-541. It is also printed in Barbazan and Méon's *Fabliaux*, IV, 57 ff., and in Renouard's edition of *Le Grand d'Aussy*, 1829, I, App. 16 ff. It was edited by G. Gullberg, along with *Espine*, in a rather obscure publication, *Deux lais du XIII^e siècle pub. d'après les mss. de la Bibl. Nat. de Paris*, Kalmar (Sweden), 1876. In the *Strengleikar* (see p. 123, below), we find a fragmentary *Graelentz Saga*, which is but a prose translation of the French poem, but does not get farther than to line 153. In one of the two French mss. of the lay, it is called an *aventure*. It is probably because he had such a heading in his ms. that the Old Norse translator called his version a *saga*, while all the rest of the stories in the volume are called *ljóð*.

² See G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII, 33.

³ *Tristan*, ed. Francisque Michel, London, 1839, III, 39.

else, and how by cunning the count gave the heart of Guiron to his wife to eat, and of her grief when she learned of her lover's death"—whereupon the poet adds a few lines which I cannot refrain from quoting, so fully do they suggest the atmosphere that surrounds the heroines of Breton romance:

La reine chante dulcement,
La voiz acorde a l'estrument:
Les mainz sont belles, li lais buens,
Dulce la voiz, e bas li tons.

This lay of *Guiron*, summarized by Thomas, was evidently a version of a very widespread tale, found in some form or other all over the world, which recounts how the heart of a lover is eaten by his unsuspecting *amie*, who dies soon after.¹ And it may be the same as that mentioned in the *Roman d'Anséis de Carthage*,² where we read:

Rois Anséis doit maintenant souper;
Mais il faisoit un Breton vieler
Le lai *Goron*, comme il doit finer
Com faitement le convint definir.

Still we cannot be certain; for we know well that there existed other lays of *Gurun* which treated entirely different matter. In the *Strengleikar*,³ the Norse translation of Old French lays made at the command of King Haakon Haakonson about the middle of the thirteenth century, we find a *Guruns Ljóð*, which relates a story that has no likeness to the summary in *Tristan*—a story of how a lover won his lady, the daughter of a Scottish king, by the mediation of a

¹ The story may be found, e. g., in another Old French lay, *Ignature*, in the romance of Jakemes Sakeseps, *Le Châtelain de Couci*, in Boccaccio's novel of Guiscardo and Ghismonda (iv, 1), and in many popular ballads like the English *Lady Diamond*. It is fully discussed by G. Paris, *Rom.*, viii, 343 ff.; *Hist. Litt.*, xxviii, 352 ff.; Hermann Patzig, *Zur Gesch. der Herzmäre*, Berlin, 1891; Ahlström, *Studier i den Fornfranska Lais-Litteraturen*, Upsala, 1892, pp. 125 ff.; Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Part ix, pp. 29 ff.

² See Michel, *Tristan*, iii, 95.

³ Ed. Keyser and Unger, Christiania, 1850, pp. 57 ff. Haakon ruled Norway from 1217 to 1263.

harper and a dwarf, and brought her with him to "Kornbretaland," not, however, before he had won fame for himself, fighting for her sake and in her honor. The author of this lay explains in his epilogue that he is aware that many versions of the Gurun story exist, but that he has read only the one he has told.¹ Moreover, the reference in Gottfried's *Tristan* might well be, as Patzig suggests,² to Marie's lay of *Le Fraisne*, of which the hero, a *seigneur* of Dol, is called Gurun;³ for, as he points out, the striking thing about the other Guiron is the nature of his death, and not his relations with his *amie*.

We have evidence at all events of the existence of three distinct *Gurûn* (*Guiron*) lays: 1. that preserved in Old Norse; 2. that which goes under the name of *Le Fraisne*; and 3. that which told especially of the hero's violent death and the cooking of his heart.

But what complicates matters still more, and has made necessary some examination of these lays in this paper, is the fact that we have in Middle High German poems no less than three distinct places in which the heart episode is attributed, not to *Gurûn*, but to *Grâlant* (*Grâlanden*). In *Der Weinschwelg*,⁴ composed about the middle of the 13th century, we find:

Grâlanden sluoc man unde sôt
und gab in den vrowen zezen,
wand si sîn niht wolden vergezen.

¹ "Margir segia þessa sogu með öðrum hætti. en ei las ec annat en nu hefi ec sagt yðr." (p. 61.)

² *Herzmäre*, p. 18.

³ *Die Lais der Marie de France*, ed. Karl Warnke (*Bibl. Norm.*, III), Halle, 1885, p. 64, ll. 253 ff. Lays are frequently said by their authors to have two names. The *Lai d'Ignaure* is also called *Lai del Prison* (p. 30); the *Lai d'Eliduc* was called after the two heroines by the Breton names *Guilheluec* *ha* *Guiljadun* (v. 21). In another of Marie's lays there is a discussion at the end whether it should be called *Quatre Dols* or *Le Chaitivel* (*Chart.*, 204 ff.)—cf. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, Stuttgart, 1886, p. 310. Guiron, however, is not an uncommon name; cf. *Guiron le Courtois* (*Giron il Cortese*), and Löseth's *Prose Tristan*, pp. 514-15.

⁴ *Alt. Wälder*, ed. by the brothers Grimm, Frankfurt, 1816, III, 33-34; Wackernagel's *Alt. Lesebuch*, 2nd ed., p. 583.

In Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône*,¹ in a list of unfortunate lovers, mostly from antiquity, but including Tristan and Yseult, Ywein and Laudine, we learn how "Grâlanden sloch man unt sot." The third reference is in Der von Gliers:² "Grâlant, den man gar versôt." Wolf³ regarded this interchange of names as simply a confusion of the two heroes Grâlant and Gurûn, and R. Köhler⁴ and others have adopted this view. The matter cannot, I think, be so easily disposed of. Three independent references agreeing so closely, with no other conflicting, would seem rather to indicate the existence, in Middle High German at least, of an earlier poem in which Grâlant, not Gurûn, was the unhappy lover who suffered so cruel a death.

If this be true, it would help us to explain why in the passage above quoted from *Anséïs de Carthage*, one manuscript introduces the lay of *Graelent*, instead of *Gurûn*.

Li rois seoit sour ·j· lit à argent
Pour oblier son desconfortement
Faisoit chanter le lai de *Graelent*.

We have thus seen that there were three distinct lays of which Gurûn (Giron) is the hero, and that Graelent (Grâlant) frequently had Gurûn's most characteristic adventure ascribed to him. It is clear then from this example, as from many others that could be adduced, that names in lays or romances are easily interchangeable, and that the hero of one set of adventures may supplant the hero of another and thus have attributed to him two very unlike and very inconsistent careers.

If now we turn to *Graelent*, we find the situation similar. We have several persons in Old French literature bearing that name, and it is difficult to decide what relation, if any, they bear to one another.

¹ Ed. Scholl, Stuttgart, 1852, ll. 11,562 ff.

² Bodmer's *Sammlung von Minnesingern*, Zürich, 1758, I, 44.

³ *Ueber die Lais Sequenzen u. Leiche*, Heidelberg, 1841, pp. 237-38.

⁴ Marie's *Lais*, ed. Warnke, p. LXXXI, note 1.

We may note first the occurrence of the name in Renaud de Beaujeu's *Bel Inconnu*, 5424, in the form *Grahelens*, which may have been the way it was written by Chrétien in *Erec*, 1952, not *Graelemor* (*Graislemiers*), as in Foerster's edition. This latter form appears to me to have arisen from the dropping of the -n- in *Graelen-mor*, a form which we find in the lay and elsewhere,¹ and which was here used in preference to *Gra(h)elent* because of its association with the hero *Guingamor*, who in both *Erec* and *BI*, but not in the lay, is represented as Graelent's brother. In both cases this *Gra(h)elent* is said to be from *Fineposterne*, Finistère. There can, I believe, be little doubt that the two persons, Graelen(t)-mor and Guingamor, were made brothers because of the likeness of their adventures, and that the introduction of their names in *Erec* shows Chrétien's familiarity with the lays so-named.²

In our lay, however, the hero has the appellation *Mor* (*Muer*), and it seems therefore most probable that his name was influenced by that of the old Breton leader *Gradlon Mor*, Latin *Gradlonus Mor*, or *Gradlonus Magnus*, which, according to Zimmer, could develop, through an intermediate **Grazlen*, into **Graelen*, **Graalen*. We read of this historical person³

¹ See below, pp. 143-177. Cf. Zimmer, *Zt. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, XIII, 7 ff.; Wend. Foerster, *Der Karrenritter*, 1899, p. 481.

² The reference to Guingamor in the continuation of the *Perceval* by Gaucher de Dourdan should be noted in this connection as one of the many bits of evidence of the familiarity of romance-writers with lays (see Schofield, "Lay of Guingamor," p. 242). Many lays are referred to which are not extant, cf., e. g., Chrétien's *Yvain*, ed. Foerster, II. 2152 ff.; *Roman de Renard*, ed. Méon, 12, 149 ff. The hero *Guingamiers* is mentioned in *Diu Krône*, 2333; cf. *Sir Gringamore* in Malory, Bk. VII. The form *Guing(a)*-appears as the first element of many other proper names, e. g., *Guinglain*, *Guingalet*, *Guingambresil*, *Guingalois*. The ending -mor (-muer) of Celtic words was confused with *amor* and other endings of names which, though similar in sound, were of different origin.

³ Wolf (*Ueber die Lais*, p. 238) first connected him with the hero of the lay. Zimmer has traced his career in *Zt. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, XIII, 11 ff. For a full account of his life, so far as it is known, see De la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, Rennes and Paris, 1896, I, 311-325; cf. also F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXIV, 516; Wend. Foerster, *Der Karrenritter*, p. cxvi; Dom Plaine, *Grallon-le-Grand, roi des Bretons d'Armorique*, (*Revue hist. de l'Ouest*, 1893, p. 701).

in the Life of St. Winwaloe, the founder of Landevenec, written by one Wrdisten before 884, in which Gradlonus Magnus is represented as founder, defender and organizer of *Cornubia* (the Armorican Cornwall). He appears to have died about the beginning of the 6th century.¹

In a record in a Cartulary of Landevenec, occurs, as Zimmer points out (p. 15), a list of the *comites Cornubiae* in a hand of the 12th century in which *Gradlon Mur* is mentioned, and in which appear two other Counts of Cornwall with the same name *Gradlon*: *Gradlon Flam*, and *Gradlon Plueneuor* (Plonéour in the present Quimper).

In the same Cartulary are several charters fabricated in the 11th century, one of which represents three ambassadors (*nuntii*), very holy men, as coming from Charlemagne (*Karolus magnus*) to Gradlon Mor to beg his aid for the distressed Franks, because, they declared, he had received from God power to destroy the race of pagans with the sword of the Lord.² This shows that Gradlon Mor was brought into connection with Charlemagne in historical documents, and may possibly throw some light on a very extraordinary passage in the *chanson de geste* of *Aspremont*³—a rhymed account of a fabulous expedition against the Saracens in Italy. There Graelent is represented as a companion of Roland.

Rois Karlemaines l'avoit en sa maisun
Norri d'enfance, moult petit valleton ;
Ne gisoit mais se en sa chambre non.
Soz ciel n'a hom mieulz vielant en son,
Ne miex dist le vers d'une lecon
Et icil fist le premier lai breton.

Here we have the Graelent of our lay confused with some other Graelent (Graelen, or Grallon, more likely) who, even as the Gradlon Mor of history, though in a different way, is associated with the great King Charlemagne. The author of

¹ Ca. 505, according to De la Borderie, I, 325.

² See de la Borderie, I, 324; Zimmer, pp. 14 ff.

³ Analyzed by P. Paris, *Hist. Litt.*, xxii, 313-14; cf. 302.

the *Aspremont*, however, had a very vague notion of the lay, for he represents the hero as its author: that Graellent wrote the first Breton lay is, of course, absurd. The passage quoted has its chief interest for us in establishing two facts: (1) that the lay of *Graellent* was well known in the last third of the 12th century, when the *Aspremont* was probably written,¹ and (2) that there was another person of the same name figuring in fabulous narrative with whom it was possible to confuse him.

I would cite still another passage in which a *Graalant* is mentioned, of whose exploits I know nothing more than what may be inferred from the following bare reference to him, which occurs in the English prose romance of *Merlin*,² dating from the middle of the 15th century, but translated from a much earlier French source.³ In the description of the battle between the twelve Kings of the Saisnes before the city of Clarence, we read: "Full grete was the bataile and the stour mortall for sore eche other dide hate. Ther dide the Cristin well preve theire prowessse, for magre hem thei sette Carados on horse, that Bloys of Plaisshie hym brought wherefrom he hadde smyten down the Kynge *Graalant*," etc.

It is certain then that *Gradlon*, **Graelen*, **Graalen*, is an old Breton name, borne by various historical, legendary and fabulous people, none of whom resemble in the slightest the hero of the Old French lay of which one version is attached to him.⁴ The fact, however, that this knight is called *Graellent Mor* would certainly seem to show that he was identified by the lay-writer with Gradlon Mor, the semi-fabulous king of Cornwall of the 5th century; though there is absolutely nothing in the legends attached to him to justify it.

¹ See G. Paris, *Litt. franç. au moyen âge*, 2nd. ed., p. 247; cf. § 24.

² Ed. Wheatley, E. E. T. S., 1865, p. 442.

³ *Le Roman de Merlin*, ed. Sommer, London, 1894, from a MS. of about 1316, which has (p. 316): "Illuec se prouurent bien li crestien car malgre tous leur anemis remonterent Karados et li amena Brios del Plastre ·j· cheual dont il ot abatu le roy *Grailenc*," etc.

⁴ Note also that in *Der jüngere Titurel*, ed. K. A. Hahn, 1842, p. 205, l. 2060, we read of "Der fürste Marbisine des herzentum *Gralande*."

II.

What suggested the association of Graelent's name with a series of adventures which are elsewhere ascribed to another knight, Lanval (Launfal)? A close examination of certain episodes in the two lays which bear these heroes' names, will, I believe, enable us to give at least a probable answer to this question, and at the same time, perhaps, will throw light on the mode of composition of mediaeval romantic poetry in general.

The lay of *Graelent* tells practically the same story as Marie's *Lanval*,¹ and the two are unquestionably but different versions of the same theme, borrowing independently from related sources.² So much are they alike in the material they embody, and at the same time so much do they differ in details and arrangement that they cannot possibly have been written by the same author. Yet, despite the repeated protests of scholars since the time of Wolf, *Graelent* has been over and over again unjustifiably ascribed to Marie de France. Roquefort is primarily responsible for this mistake, which De la Borderie repeated as late as in 1896, and other scholars in England since. The ascription of *Graelent* to Marie is but another example of the effort so commonly, but so unwisely, made to attach all anonymous poems to the prominent authors of the period in which they were written. To be sure, very few lay-writers are mentioned in their works by name; but we know for certain that there were many who busied themselves in Marie's time with the *matière de Bretagne* and put into literary form the stories long current in popular tradition of

¹ Ed. Roquefort, I, 202 ff; ed. Erling, Kempten, 1883; but best by Warnke, *Bibl. Normannica*, III (Halle, 1885), 86 ff; cf. the O. N. translation *Ianvals Ljóð* in *Strengeikar*, pp. 69 ff, where, however, the ms. being defective, the part corresponding to the first 154 lines is unfortunately missing.

² G. Paris, in a brief note on Kolls, *Zur Lanval Sage* (*Rom.*, xv, 644), leaves the question open: "Reste à savoir si les deux poèmes ont une source commune, ou si l'on a influencé l'autre." There is no real trace of influence either way; see below, p. 170, note.

Breton heroes and their marvellous deeds—stories which form the basis of Arthurian romance. Marie's position among these unnamed contemporaries resembles that of Shakspeare amid his fellow dramatists in the age of Elizabeth. They did well, but she and he did better. Marie wrote the lay of *Mihun*, but not *Doon*; *Bisclavret*, but not *Mélion*; *Lanval*, but not *Graelent*.

If then *Lanval* and *Graelent* are not by the same author, what relation do they bear to each other? The generally accepted opinion is that *Graelent* is the older, and represents the form of the story before it was polished by Marie. If, however, we examine the reasons for this opinion, we shall, I think, see that they are not entirely adequate; we cannot accept it without reserve.

The chief difference between *Lanval* and *Graelent* is in the way the hero comes into relation with the fay. Lanval, in distress because his money is all gone, leaves the court and makes his way to a pleasant meadow, where he lies down to rest by a river's side. Suddenly he sees two beautiful maidens approach, richly dressed, one bearing a basin of gold, the other a towel. They salute him first, and tell him their mistress has sent for him. He accompanies them to a pavilion near by, finer than even Queen Semiramis or the Emperor Octavian could have afforded, which is surmounted by a golden eagle. There, on a rich bed, reclines the fay, clad only in a chemise, with a mantle of purple Alexandrine thrown over her. Her side, face, neck and breast—marvellously fair—are all uncovered. She calls Lanval by name and avows her love for him. He declares his willingness to leave all to be with her. She gives him great gifts, and they lie together until she bids him depart. She cautions the hero not to tell any one of his love, else he shall lose her forever. When he desires her presence he need only wish for her, and she will come to do all his *talent*, unseen by others. After a delightful repast, Lanval departs. When he returns to the city, he is surprised to find his men well dressed and his horse

splendidly caparisoned. He dispenses treasure without stint to people of every condition, rejoicing continually in his lady's love.

Graelent shows great variation from this account. The hero is out alone in the woods, sad because of his poverty, when all of a sudden he sees in a thicket a hind whiter than snow. He starts out in pursuit, but though he is always able to keep near, he can never quite reach her. She leads him into a plain where is a "fountain" with clear, sparkling water, in which a maiden is bathing along with her two damsels. Their garments they have hung up on a tree near by. As soon as *Graelent* observes the maiden, he thinks no more of the hind. He gazes long at her, marvelling at her beauty, then steals up quietly and gets possession of her clothes. When the bathers realize the knight's presence and their sorry plight, they are terrified, and the lady begs him to return what he has taken. She offers to give him money instead of the clothes, and when he declares that he is not a merchant and even asks her to be his love, she treats him with scorn, and expresses astonishment at his extreme boldness. Finding her so haughty, *Graelent* threatens to leave her naked in the forest, and when finally he induces her to issue from the fountain, and she is dressed, he conducts her willy nilly into the dark forest, and there "a fait de li ce que li plest." Now she changes her manner with amazing suddenness, grants him her love, promises him, like the fay in *Lanval*, bountiful treasure, and declares that she will be with him whenever he desires it, but that if at any time he reveal their relations he shall lose her. *Graelent* returns to his dwelling, where a messenger from the lady soon comes to him, and brings such gifts as enable him to be as generous as his heart prompts.

It is obvious that in this episode *Lanval* is much closer to the original story than *Graelent*. There can be absolutely no question that the mistress of the hero was at first a fay pure and simple, that her dwelling was the otherworld, and that

she came on purpose to gain the love of the young knight. She knows his past and future, and is all-powerful to do anything for him he may wish. She has no limitations of beauty, age or resources.

In both lays she is thus represented; but while in *Lanval* she is consistently portrayed, in *Graelent*, in the passage I have summarized, she is confused with a swan-maiden: she must needs be captured by the hero, who gets her into his power by stealing the clothes she has left on the bank while she bathes. Moreover, traces of the joining of the two distinct conceptions are present in our lay. The maiden who one moment pleads with Graelent for mercy and who allows herself to be ravished by force alone, who declares: "Graelent, vus m'avés surprise" (300), nevertheless adds the following bit of information, which would indeed be bewildering did we not know that the inconsistency is due to the introduction of elements foreign to the original story:

Graelent, vos estes loiaus
 Prox è curtois è assés biax :
 Pur vus ving-jou à la fontaine,
 Pur vus souferai-jou grant paine;
 Bien savoie ceste aventure (315 ff.).

The author has now evidently returned to the original material. The words just quoted should be compared with the following from *Lanval*:

Lanval, fet ele, bels amis,
 pur vus vinc ieo fors de ma terre
 de luinz vus sui venue querre
 Se vus estes pruz e curteis (110 ff.).

The verbal agreement between the two lays, in reality very slight, is nowhere more significant.

Lanval, I repeat, is much more primitive in this part of the narrative than *Graelent*; and the swan-maiden adventure has evidently been clumsily introduced into a lay where it has no business to be, thereby causing confusion and

inconsistency. Where, we may now ask, did the author of *Graelent* get his material?

I have pointed out elsewhere¹ that in this episode and especially in the hunt which precedes it, *Graelent* shows striking likeness to the lay of *Guingamor*, and that a very similar story is contained in the Old French *Dolopathos* by Herbert, based on the Latin prose version of John of Alta Silva, which was written between 1179 and 1212. But neither of these poems can be regarded as the source of the interpolation in our lay.

There is, however, a poem, in another language and of a much later date, part of which I should like to bring into comparison with this interpolated passage. I refer to the 14th century Middle High German poem of *Friedrich von Schwaben*²—a long, rambling, uninspired production, chiefly interesting because of the old traditions it embodies and its allusions to mediaeval works and their heroes. It tells of a fabulous Duke Frederick of Swabia, whom the poet leads from one extraordinary adventure into another without troubling himself much about a reasonable plot. Into this heterogeneous mass of material taken from all kinds of sources, is introduced a romantic version of the story of Wayland and the swan-maidens, which is to be found nowhere else in mediaeval literature except in the beautiful Eddic lay *Völundarkviða*, which dates from the end of the ninth century. This is the best part of the old German poem—the only part, I may add, which is accessible in more than a summary.³

¹ "Lay of Guingamor" (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, IV, 1897, 236 ff.)

² Dr. K. H. Hermes published about 600 lines of the text under the heading *Die Wielandsage im F. v. S.*, in von der Hagen's *Germania*, VII (1846), 95–115. The poem was first analysed by Langer in Gräter's *Bragur, ein Literarisches Magazin der Teutschen u. Nord. Vorzeit*, Leipzig, VI, 1 (1798), 181–189; VI, II (1800), 189–205; VII, I (1802), 209–235. Cf. Uhland, *Schriften*, I, 481 ff.; Grimm, *Deut. Heldensage*, 310 ff.; 473; Raszmann, *Die deut. Heldensage u. ihre Heimat*, 1857/8, 2nd ed., 1863, II, 265; Jiriczek, *Deut. Heldensagen*, 1898, I, 24 ff.; Paul's *Grundriss*, 2nd ed., III, 642.

³ Ludvig Voss announces an edition of the poem in his dissertation, *Ueberlief. u. Verfasserschaft des M.H.D. Ritterromans, F. v. S.*, Münster, 1895.

If we compare the stories of Wieland and Graelent, we see that they are both represented as handsome knights who enter the service of a king in order to aid him in a war with another prince. In both cases they come into high favor with the kings they serve, but their wages are unjustly withheld by their lords, and they are thus reduced to poverty.

In W. the king refuses to pay the knight, in order that he may not be able to leave him. In Gt. his refusal is said to be at the suggestion of the amorous queen, who later plays a prominent part in the story; but traces of the original explanation are clear in the words:

Povre le tenist entur lui
Qu'il ne péust servir autrui (151-2).

W. bitterly laments his situation. He has, he realizes, lost his *türe arwait*, but there is nothing now for him to do: not being able to leave, he must remain at court in poverty. Even so, Gt. is sad and downcast. He "n'atent nul secors" (159) and decides that "ne li remest que engagier" (155).

W. in his distress rides out alone from the city, and suddenly finds himself in the presence of a beautiful hind, whom he follows until he comes to an open place where is a *prunnen klar*. Separated from the hind, he sees three doves come flying to the fountain and there transform themselves into beautiful women, remove their clothes and go in bathing. W. quietly gets possession of their garments, and then shows himself. When they see him, the maidens are at first terrified, and "nackent und plos" bewail their unhappy condition. Finally, one of them thus appeals to W. (p. 108):

lieber gesell,
Nu hör, was ich wel!
Du hast genommen unser gewand,
Daz zel ich für ein schand:
Wir haben dir ne leit getan;
Darum soltu unz das gewand lan,
Daz stat wol deinen eren.
Nu tû mich geweren!

W. replies that one of them must marry him :

Oder ir müst nackent stan,
Und ich wil von euch gan;
Ewr gewand trach ich hin.

They inquire whether he is of noble race ; but he will not tell and insists on his demand. They then offer him money.

Wir wellen mit dir dingen
Und dir geben reichen sold,
Baide silber und gold,
Daz du lebest kostlich
In ainem jeden rich
Unser gewand mag dir nit frumen ;
Nun bis versunnen
Gib uns wider daz !

But he refuses. At last, seeing that there is no escape, they agree to his proposals.

Er gab in ir gewand,
Und gieng hindan zû hand.
Als sij waren angelait,
Bald was er bereit.

Thereupon, after much complaint, the charming Angelburg, the leader of the three maidens, grants him her love.

In like manner, we remember, Gt. rides out alone into a forest, "*très pensif, mornes è dolent*" (198). While he is wandering about, he discovers a hind, who leads him to the clear fountain within which he sees three damsels bathing, their clothes having been left on the bank. He pays no more heed to the hind-messenger, but turns all his attention to the three bathers, especially to the one preëminently beautiful.

Ne la veut en l'iave tuchier,
Par loisir la laisse baignier.
Sa despouille est alés saisir,
Par tant le cuide retenir
Ses Dameiseles s'aperçurent
Del' Chevalier, en effroi furent.
Lor Dame l'a araisuné,
Par mautalent l'a apelé :

Graelent, lai mes dras ester,
 Ne t'en pués gaires amender
 Se tu od toi les emporteies,
 E ensi nue me laisseies;
 Trop sanleroit grant cunveitise.
 Rent moi se viax nun ma chemise,
 Li mantiax puet bien estre tuens,
 Denier en prens, car il est buens.

Graelent respunt en riant,
 Ne sui pas fix à marchéant,
 N'a Borgoï pur vendre mantiax:
 S'il valoit ore trois castiax,
 Si n'enporteroie-jou mie:
 Isciés de cele iave, Amie,
 Prenés vos dras, si vus vestés
 Ançois que vus à mei parlés.
 Je n'en voil pas, dist-ele, iscir,
 Que de mei vus puisiés saisir;
 N'ai cure de vostre parole,
 Ne sui nient de vostre escole.
 Il li respunt, je sofferaï,
 Vostre despouille garderai,
 Desque vus isterés ça fors:
 Bele, mut avés gent le cors.
 Quant ele voit qu'il veut atendre,
 E que ses dras ne li veut randre;
 Séurté demande de lui
 K'il ne li face nul anui.
 Graelent l'a aséuré;
 Sa chemise li a dunée:
 Cele s'en ist de maintenant,
 Il li tint le mantel devant,
 Puis l'afula è si li rent (223 ff.).

Thereupon, he presses his suit, and the maiden, after much protestation, finally gives way, and grants him her love.

The Wieland episode in *Friedrich von Schwaben* is evidently a very close parallel to the interpolation in *Graelent*. The two stories cover just about the same ground, and emphasis is laid on the same features. It should be noted particularly how minutely the two accounts agree, not only in the attitude of the hero towards the three maidens, but also in their attitude towards him. Their "reasoning," which

nowhere else in similar stories is prolonged and detailed to anything like the same extent, is practically identical in both cases. At first affrighted, the bathers beg for the return of their garments. Then, unable to make the hero ashamed of his conduct, they offer to recompense him, deeming him to be a person of common origin whose chief interest in taking their clothes is desire for gain. Such an idea he repudiates, and declares that he will give up their garments when one of them promises to become his *amie*, but not until then. They object to his proposal, for they fear he is of low degree. He thereupon threatens to go off and leave them naked in the forest. Seeing no escape, they agree to his demands, emerge from the water, and receive their clothes from his hands. When they are clad, the hero urges his suit. The beautiful maiden chosen by him to be his lady, protests vehemently, and only gives way by necessity; but afterwards she treats him graciously and the two become devoted lovers.

The Middle High German poem appears to be a late romantic version of the story in first part of the Old Norse lay of Wayland (*Völundarkviða*), which tells how the hunter Wayland and his two brothers discover three swan-maidens bathing in a lonely lake, and how they force them to become their wives by getting possession of their swan-garments, and of the love of Wayland for the beautiful All-wise (*Alvittr*) whom he has thus won.

The Old Norse lay, all scholars agree, is a fusion of two earlier poems independent of each other—a combination nowhere else found. The first part, with which alone we are at present concerned, seems originally to have existed in verse form unconnected with the tale of the famous smith's imprisonment by King Nithuth and his terrible revenge. As Symons says:¹ "Von dieser Sage hat nur das abenteuer-

¹ Paul's *Grundriss*, 2nd ed., III, 722 ff.; cf. Jiriczek, *Deutsche Helden Sagen*, I, 9 ff., 24 ff.; F. Jónsson, *Den Oldnorske og Oldisl. Litt. Hist.*, Copenhagen, 1893, I, 204 ff.; Detter, *Arkiv f. Nord. Fil.*, III, 309 ff.; Niedner, *Zt. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII, 36 ff.

liche deutsche gedicht Herzog Friedrich von Schwaben einen merkwürdigen, späten Nachklang in ritterlich-phantastischer Umgestaltung bewährt, der zwar zur Erklärung der Sage nichts beiträgt, aber den Beweis liefert, dass auch dieser Teil der nordischen Ueberlieferung von Wieland in Deutschland, und zwar in selbständiger Existenz bekannt gewesen ist." Inasmuch as we have no trace of a written High German original for the poem, Symons suggests (p. 642) that it may have been taken up from some oral Low German version. It is evident, as he points out (p. 729), that although the association of Wayland with a swan-maiden was not well known, the agreement of the Middle High German and Old Norse poems shows that it had already been brought about in the Saxon home of the Wayland story.

It is unnecessary to try to make very precise the relations between the Middle High German version of this tale of Wayland and the interpolation in *Graelent*. I would say, however, that in my opinion the German version goes back more probably to an Old French story than to an older German tradition.¹ The author of *Friedrich von Schwaben* was entirely familiar with Arthurian romance and the *matière de Bretagne*. He gives a list² of the noble Knights of the Round Table in which occur the names of Perceval, Erec,

¹ Note that the metrical French *Dolopathos* of Herbert (ed. Brunet and Montaiglon, Paris, 1856) is an amplification of a Latin prose version of Johannes de Alta Silva, written ca. 1185, and first published by Oesterley in 1873 (see *Rom.*, II, 500). It contains, as I have pointed out ("Lay of Guingamor," pp. 231 ff.), a swan-maiden story very similar to that in *Guingamor* and in our lay. It is important to observe in this connection that this particular story was separately translated from the Latin of Johannes into German prose, which translation is now preserved in a paper MS. of the 15th century (Haupt and Hoffmann, *Alt. Blätter*, I, 128 ff.). It has a few lines of verse at the beginning and the end. This swan-maiden story is not connected with Wayland, and has no such definite points of contact with our lay, as are found in the Friedrich version; but its history shows us that the Wayland story, current in France, and embodied in the *Graelent*, may possibly have got into German through some Latin redaction.

² See *Bragur*, VII, I, 225-6; Voss, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.

Gawain, Iwein, Lancelot, Wigalois, Tristram, Gawain, Wigmur, Titurel, Amfartas, and others ; and his poem, so far as we can tell from the summaries, has many Celtic motives.

It may be well to remark that the episode in the Friedrich poem cannot possibly be based on that in *Graelent*. For, in the first place, there is no suggestion in it of any other part of the lay, agreement between the two poems being confined to the one incident, which is complete and of about the same length in both cases—and, secondly, because in certain features the German poem is evidently closer to the original story : the hind speaks to the hero and is more unmistakably a fay-messenger, but, above all, the three maidens come flying to the fountain in the form of doves, and are not transformed into women until they go to bathe.

As Symons rightly thinks, the swan-maiden story was doubtless told of Wayland among the Saxons. It certainly was well known to the Normans, and could without the slightest difficulty have become familiar to the Bretons and French through them. Already considerable influence of Northern tradition has been pointed out in Breton romance, e. g., in *Tristan*, and time will, I believe, reveal many more borrowings from the same abundant source. As J. Loth says :¹ “ L'idée d'avoir été chercher du Scandinave dans les traditions armoricaines n'a rien que de naturel pour qui connaît les luttes si fréquentes et si sanglantes des deux peuples. Nous possédons même une épopée française au XII^e siècle, composée en Bretagne et dont le sujet est au fond la lutte des Bretons contre les Norrois (*Noreys*) et leur victoire définitive sur les envahisseurs, le *Roman d'Acquin* (éd. Juon des Longrais, Nantes, 1880). Il n'y a question ni d'Erec, ni d'aucun des héros des romans arthuriens, silence significatif et qui prouve qu'au XII^e siècle, en Armorique, les souvenirs les plus vivants, les plus nationaux étaient ceux des longues et sanglantes luttes des Bretons émigrés pour l'indépendance de leur nouvelle patrie, d'abord contre les Francs, puis contre les Normands. Le Beau,

¹ “ Les Romans Arthuriens ” (*Revue Celtique*, XIII, 484).

d'après un écrivain du XI^e siècle, Ingomar, nous a aussi conservé dans son Histoire de Bretagne le souvenir de luttes plus anciennes encore des Bretons contre les pirates Frisons et Francs." It may not then be wholly accidental that every Graelent we know from fabulous or romantic narrative, except the hero of our lay, is in some way connected with the Saxons or Franks. The Graalant in the *Merlin* is mentioned in the chapter dealing with the battle against the "Saisnes;" the Graelent in *Aspremont* is said to have been brought up at the court of Charlemagne, with whom even Gradlon Mor in the 12th century was associated. Grálant, moreover, was, as I have shown, the hero to whom was attributed in Germany, where the Northern traditions were widely current, the story of the gruesome repast of Gurûn's lady, to which many close parallels exist in Old Norse.¹

Granted, then, that the story of Wayland's capture of a swan-maiden who became his beloved wife, was known among the Saxons and Normans, and that it found its way to the Bretons and French, it would inevitably be worked over by

¹ Could this confusion of Gurûn with Grálant be due to a vague reminiscence of the fact that Galant made drinking cups out of the heads of King Nithuth's sons and sent them to the unfortunate father, who drank from them at a feast? This eating of the heart of one's nearest and dearest is common enough in Scandinavian tradition. Indeed, as Ahlström suggests (p. 135), *Gurûn* may itself come from *Guðrún*, who served up to her husband Atli the hearts of his two sons Erp and Eitil (*Guðrún* passing into *Gurûn* as *Gradlon* into *Graelen*, the dental spirant disappearing early in the Celtic languages; see Zimmer, *Zt. f. fr. Sp.*, XIII, 4, 5; *Z. D. A.*, XXXII, 245, note 3). In Germany the Nibelungen stories, which told of Regin and Sigurth cooking the heart of Fáfnir, and of the cutting of the hearts of Gunnar and Högni from their breasts, must have been very familiar. No early Celtic motive of this kind has as yet been pointed out. It is interesting to observe that the poem in which Guiron is first mentioned, viz., the *Tristan*, is that in which Northern influence is most manifest.

In the *Wilkins Saga*, King Nithuth is represented as hamstringing Wayland in order to keep him with him. The king was at war with his enemies. Wayland did him a service for which a great reward had been promised. The king, however, was ungrateful and refused to recompense him for his service. The smith felt himself unjustly treated, but had to continue in the employ of the king. This is not unlike the Graelent story.

them in romantic form, and under the influence of stories like *Guigemar* and the *Chevalier au Cygne*, develop into just such an *aventure* as we must postulate to explain the Graelent interpolation and the Wieland episode in the Middle High German romance.

What name would the hero bear in the French version of this story? Unquestionably that by which Wayland was always known in Old French, viz., *Galant*. This is, for our purposes, a very important point: the hero of the story which the lay-writer used as the basis of his interpolation was called in German *Wieland*, but in Old French *Galant*. Here, I believe, we have the reason for the introduction of the disturbing incidents. The author of the lay, knowing the story of *Galant* and the beautiful swan-maiden, and observing its likeness to the induction of other romantic Breton narratives, decided to introduce this, as he did other matter, into the story he was working over from earlier traditions. Having changed his account in many features, he makes up his mind to give his hero a new name, and he naturally chooses that of the hero of the story he has embodied in his narrative, having to alter it but slightly to make it identical with that of the well-known Breton king, whose victories over the Franks had made him popular among those who belonged to the same ancient realm.¹ There is nothing whatever in the history of Gradlon Mor—historical or fabulous—to suggest unaided the ascription to him of these adventures. But it was the easiest thing in the world to give to the name *Galant* the slight twist necessary to make him an entirely suitable hero for a “Breton lay.” There is no hint of the swan-maiden episode in the 15th century Middle English version of our lay by Thomas Chestre, although, as we shall see (pp. 153 ff., below), it contains many features preserved in *Graelent*, but not in Marie’s

¹ King Grallon still lives in popular tradition in Armorica. See Ferd. Lot, *Rom.*, xxiv, 516, who cites *Annales de Bretagne*, Nov., 1894, p. 63. Cf. further Th. de la Villemarqué, *Barzas-Breiz*, Paris, 1839, pp. XLIII, and (for the legend of St. Ronan in which Grallon figures) 315 ff.

poem. It is significant, therefore, that it too is called by what I regard as the original name, *Launfal*. The swan-maiden episode, I believe, is most closely associated with the name of the lay in which it is alone found, and which alone bears this name. The lay was not called *Graelent* (*Graelant*¹) until it embodied the story of *Galant*.

De la Borderie imagines (I, 323) that this poem represents the oldest branch of a legendary cycle that grew up around the name of Gradlon. "C'est la légende de la jeunesse de Gradlon. Il n'est pas roi encore, mais il est beau et brave, audacieux, irrésistible," and so on. The historian surely takes the matter altogether too seriously. Admit, as we may, that the name Graelent is phonetically about the same as Gradlon, it does not follow that every episode in which a hero of that name figures is part of a legendary cycle to be attached to the most prominent person who has borne it. And now that we are aware that in all probability the name was attached to the poem by what may be called accident, and that Lanval was more likely the person about whom the story was originally told, the last possibility of attaching it to the fifth century Armorican prince, as a branch of his legendary history, is forever removed.

With regard, moreover, to the name of our hero, we should observe that there is no reason why a proper noun developed out of *Gradlon* should have phonetically a final *-t*, unless by some confusion. Zimmer,² aware of the difficulty, offered two possible explanations: (1) In the second part of Breton names the etymologically related *-gen* (= stem *geno-*) and *-gent* (= stem *gento-* = O.H.G. *kind*), later *ien* and *ient*, have the same meaning, and in like manner the *-en*, which developed from *-on*, may have been lengthened to *-ent*. (2) The oblique case *Graelent* was simply formed by the Frenchified Bretons out of the nominative *Graelens* by analogy. Neither

¹ This is the superscription of the lay in the ms. of the end of the 13th century from which G. Paris has published his *Lais Inédits*; see *Rom.*, VIII, 32-33.

² *Zt. f. franz. Sp.*, XIII, 6.

of these suggestions, however, seems very plausible. It is important to note, in the first place, that this final *-t* seems never to have attached itself to the regular developments of the name *Gradlon*. This name is now current in Brittany¹ without a *-t*. Moreover, the modern French equivalent of the earlier *Gradlon* is *Grallon*. Nowhere is there a trace of a *-t* except in our lay and in passages influenced by it. It is not common in the history of language to have a whole people revert to the original form of a name after a new one has become established. Even in our lay, moreover, the *-t* is not constant. To be sure, we have no really good edition of the poem, with the variants given; but Le Grand d'Aussy writes always *Gruélan*, and Renouard, who in the appendix to his translation prints the text complete, though he uses *Graelent* usually, writes nevertheless *Graelen-Mor*, without the *-t*. The scribe, familiar with the name of the ancient king, may have written it at this point, where the identification was apparent, in the way to which he was accustomed.

I believe it likely that the author of our lay, having *G(u)alant* before him as the name of the hero in the story he was inserting, identified this hero with the great Breton king *Graalen* (*Graelen*) *Mor*. He adopted the *-r-* from the king's name, to make the two names more alike,² but he did not drop the *-t* already present. His lay becoming popular, the form with *-t* was usually written by later scribes whenever the name of the hero occurred in the documents they were writing.³

¹ Brizeux (*Gramm. Celto-Bretonne*, 2nd ed., 1838, cited by R. Köhler, p. lxxxii, note 1) says: "Sous la Ligue on chantait encore le *Graalen-Môr*, qui a tant fourni aux romans de la Table-Ronde; et l'on chante toujours: Ar roué *Graalen zô enn Iz bez*."

² Cf. *Guingalet*, *Gringalet*; *Guingamor*, *Gringamore*; *Gifflet*, *Grifflet*, etc. There are plenty of instances of an adventitious *-r-* of this kind, so that this simple addition would in no way disturb him. See Add. note, p. 180.

³ It is very instructive to observe how the name of an historical Norseman, the famous viking *Guðormr*, against whom Alfred the Great strove successfully, found its way into the romances, and underwent numerous transformations. We find it in Gottfried's *Tristan* in the form *Gurmun*; and this name too seems to have been confused with *Gurun* in the MSS.

However, in the lay, *Graelent* (*Graalant*) has three syllables, although the German poems write only *Grälant* (*Grälanden*) and the Old Norse translation has *Grelent*, which seem hardly to accord with that pronunciation. Zimmer would explain the extra syllable as a trace of the dental spirant (in *Gradlon*) which has dropped. Professor Sheldon suggests, what seems more likely, that the name may have taken its present form under the influence of *Grael* (*Graal*), the Holy Grail.

It should be noted that Wayland's name is found in French and Latin documents in various forms, e. g., *Galant*, *Gallant*, *Galland*, *Gualant*, *Guilandus*. We cannot be sure just what form it had in the story from which the author of *Gt.* borrowed. The variants of the proper noun in *Erec*, 1952, which Foerster agrees with Zimmer in regarding as that of our hero *Graelent* are: *Grailemus*, *Graillemers*, *Garlemes*, *Greslemues*, *Graislemiers*, and the form *Grahelens* in *BI* probably represents the reading in the ms. of *Erec* that Renaud had before him. Obviously the scribes treated names carelessly, and altered them freely.¹

of *Anséis de Carthage* (see above, p. 123). Hertz in an interesting note to his translation of the *Tristan* (Stuttgart, 1877, pp. 569-79) discusses the romantic history of this personage, and cites the following forms of his name: *Guðrum*, *Gudrum*, *Godrum*, *Guðrun*, *Gyðhrun*; *Guthram*, *Gythram*, *Guntram*, *Gunther*, *Gountere*, *Guderus*, *Gytro*, etc. By Geoffrey and his contemporaries he was usually called: *Gurmund*, *Gormund*, *Wermund*; by Wace also, *Guermons*, *Gormons*. He was also confused with *Gorm(o)*. See Ferd. Lot (*Rom.*, xxvii, 18-47), who writes as follows (p. 47): "En résumé, Gormond est parfaitement historique: il résulte de la fusion de *Vurmo*, chef danois, qui fit campagne en France en 881 et 882, et du viking d'Angleterre, *Guthorm* (*Gudrum*), que nous voyons sous les murs de Cirencestre en 879. Ses exploits et le stratagème fabuleux par lequel il s'empara de cette ville [see Geoffrey, xi, 8, 10; xii, 2] étaient déjà racontés dans le poème du xi^e siècle et ont pour origine une *saga* ou au moins un récit scandinave." Note also the transformation of the Scandinavian name, *Hengist*, which became in French *Angius*, *Anguis*, in Malory *King Anguish*; cf. the English *Merline* (*Percy Folio MS.*, i, 424-25), where *King Anguis*, "The Danish King," is the leader of many "Sarazens," who "wrought in England mickle woe."

¹Another good example of scribal variations we may find in the forms of the proper names in *Marie's* lay of *Yonec*, where one scribe writes the

The existence of the interpolation in Gt. has evidently misled Ahlström, who maintains that our lays embody what was originally a swan-maiden story. The principal theme of Chrétien's *Yvain*, he asserts,¹ is "ce même conte de la femme-cygne qui nous a donné les lais de *Graelent*, etc." But he finds it hard to explain the situation in *Lanval* on such an hypothesis, and makes the unhappy suggestion that there is in Marie's lay a reminiscence of the fountain scene, inasmuch as the two maidens of the fay, when they first meet the hero, bear one a towel, the other a basin of gold. "Dans *Lanval*, le pendant de *Graelent*, il ne reste de toute la scène [à la fontaine] que la rencontre du héros avec deux belles suivantes, qui portent de l'eau pour le bain de leur maîtresse" (p. 296). In his Swedish dissertation,² he even undertakes to explain why this change took place: "The climate in the district of Kardoil did not readily allow any such fantastic notions as beautiful fays bathing in fountains out in the open, and therefore the *amies* of Lanval and Désiré had to be satisfied to take their baths at home." Ahlström surely imagines Kardoil³ (Carlisle in Cumberland) much nearer the North Pole than it really is. The maidens were of course not preparing to "tub" their mistress; they were simply getting water (in a *gold* basin, be it noted) for use in bathing the hands before meat, as was the regular custom in the romances.

Liebrecht,⁴ too, did not suspect the real situation in *Graelent*, thinking it a version of the Psyche story, "zwar einige

hero's name variously: *Ywenet*, *Iwenec*, *Ywunec*, *Yonec*; another *Dyonet*, *Iomet*, *Dyomet*, *Yonet*, *Ionet*. His father is called *Muldumarec*, *Murdimalet*, *Nusdumaret*, *Eudumarec*. In the same lay the city of *Cuerwent*, *Carwent*, *Caruent*, *Caruot*, *Cacruet*, *Carnant*, is said to be on the river *Duëlas*, *Dualas*, *Ditalas*.

¹ "Sur l'Origine du Chevalier au Lion" (*Mélanges de phil. romane, dédiés à Carl Wahlund*, Macon, 1896), p. 299.

² *Studier*, pp. 54-55.

³ On this place see Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, p. 327.

⁴ Kuhn's *Zt. f. vergl. Sprachforschung*, xviii, 1869, 59 ff.

züge (verbot des Schauens, Lampe) verloren." He does not seem to have known of its connection with the other lays of the cycle.

III.

If now we examine the lay of *Graelent* in connection with that of *Lanval*, we shall see that there are still other clear cases in which *Graelent* has less primitive material than its companion poem.

The first of these is a long disquisition of 34 lines (73-106) on love, which is certainly late. When the queen asks him if he has an *amie*, Graelent replies in the negative. "Love is no trifling matter," he explains; "hundreds of people speak of love, without having the least idea of real devotion. It is rather a *rage*, a *folie*. Idleness, indifference, and falseness destroy it. Love demands chastity in thought, word and action. If one of two lovers is faithful and the other false and jealous, their affection cannot be of long duration. Love has no need of a companion. When true, it comes from God alone, 'de cors en cors, de cuer en cuer.' Cicero, in his *De Amicitia*, says expressly that what one lover desires should be desired by the other, if they are to be happy together. But if the wishes of the two do not coincide, love no longer exists. It is easy to get a mistress, but to keep her requires 'douçour, è francise, è mesure.' Love ought never to be feigned. It demands so great loyalty that I have never allowed myself to be under its sway." Such a scholastic discussion reveals too much familiarity with the elaborate treatments of love in the Middle Ages¹ to be anything but a late addition to the originally simple, unsophisticated story. It is found in no other version, and is entirely out of place in *Graelent*.

¹ See W. A. Neilson, "Origins and Sources of the *Court of Love*" (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, VI, 1899).

This discussion is inserted in the interview between the hero and the amorous queen who, like Potiphar's wife,¹ receives

¹ On the Potiphar's wife episode, see Schofield, "Lay of Guingamor," p. 237. Rhys says (*Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 228): "The Mórrigu or Great Queen's antagonism to Cuchulainn was explained thus in Irish mythology: In a weak moment she made love to him, and he gave her a rebuff which she keenly resented." With the situation in *Guingamor* and other similar stories, cf. that in the *Hjalmters og Ölvers Saga*, ch. 8 (*Fornmanna Sögur*, III, 469 ff): Hjalmtér refuses the advances of his step-mother (cf. *Seven Sages*) and treats her roughly. She proceeds to have her revenge. In chapter 9, the hero vainly pursues a hind in a forest, which leads him to a giant's cave. This is evidently a result of the step-mother's machinations. Hjalmtér wishes to kill the giant "ok lúka sva stjúpmoður minna sendiförina þá sem hun hefir sendt okkr hingat til hans" (p. 472).

In the popular ballad, *The Queen of Scotland* (Child, No. 301), a queen in the king's absence invites young Troy Muir to her bower and bed.

'O God forbid,' this youth then said,
 'That ever I drie sic blame
 As ever to touch the queen's bodie,
 Altho the king's frae hame.'

When that he had these words spoken
 She secretly did say,
 'Some evil I shall work this man,
 Before that it be day.'

This ballad contains nought but motives of romance. The queen tells the hero that "if he will lift a stone in the garden he will find in a pit under the stone gold enough to buy a dukedom. The next morning Troy Muir lifts the stone, and a long-starved serpent winds itself around his middle. A maid comes by and allays the serpent's rage by cutting off her pap for him. Troy Muir is immediately released, and the wound in the maid's breast heals in an hour." Later she recovers her pap. Miss Harper has shown (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, Nov., 1898) the connection between this tale and that of Carados and the serpent in the *Perceval*, and her argument has been discussed at length by Gaston Paris, "Carados et le Serpent," in *Rom.*, xxviii, 1899, 214-231. I may add that in the *Prose Lancelot* the hero is urged to open a tomb to see what it contains, and that, when he does so, a dragon emerges. This story is contained in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Bk. xi, ch. 1; see Sommer's edition, III, 191 ff.

The hero's name, *Troy Muir*, seems to be only a corruption of *Tryamour*, though, as Professor Child observes, the ballad has no likeness to the romance so called (ed. Halliwell, Percy Soc., vol. xvi, 1846). It should be noted that the fay in Chrestre's poem is called *Dame Tryamour*, and

a rebuff from the youth to whom she offers her love. This incident is found in both poems, and was therefore in the earlier story from which both poets drew. It occurs, however, in different places in the two narratives. In *Lanval* it very naturally superinduces the disclosure of the hero's relations with his *amie*. The queen, seeing Lanval happy and radiant, the beloved of all at court, not only because of his personal attractions, but also because of his generosity, which is made possible by the help of the fay, readily falls in love with him. He as readily, under such circumstances, rejects her forthputting offer, and when taunted by her with secret vice,¹ naturally justifies himself by telling the real reason for his conduct. In *Gt.*, on the other hand, the scene with the queen is dragged in, evidently out of place, at the very beginning of the lay. It is clearly stated (see p. 134) that the king refuses to pay the hero so that he may retain him in his service, and yet this is said also to be due to the machinations of the

that the fair maiden whom Friedrich von Schwaben wins at the fountain is the daughter of a King *Triamer*. *Tryamour* is, except in Chestre's poem, where I suspect a misunderstanding, a man's name. It is the name of the King of Wales in *Sir Tristrem*, ed. Kölbing, 1882, ll. 2300 ff. In the English *Merlin* (ed. Wheatley, E. E. T. S., 594) we find a "*Triamores*, casteleyn of Cambenyk." *Sir Tryamour*, the English romance, is mentioned along with *Sir Lancelot of the Lake*, *The Knight of the Swan*, *Sir Bevis*, and *Sir Guy* as having been read by Rowlands, who wrote a poem on Guy of Warwick in 1608 (see *Rowlands' Works*, Hunterian Club, 1874, II, 8). See below, p. 160, n. 2.

¹ Geoffrey of Monmouth (Bk. XI, ch. 7) says of Malgo, King of Britain, that he was "omnium fere Britanniae pulcerrimus, . . . robustus armis, largior ceteris: and ultra modum probitate præclarus, nisi Sodomilana peste volutatus." A similar statement is made of Guendoloena in Bk. II, ch. 6. Note in this connection that the fights of Arthur with the Picts and Scots, referred to in the introduction to Marie's lay, are recounted by Geoffrey, Bk. IX, ch. 1 ff. The Duke of Cornwall, moreover, plays a prominent part in *Lanval* (ll. 435 ff.) as in Geoffrey, Bk. IX, ch. 5, 15; Bk. X, ch. 6, 9. It looks as if Marie knew Geoffrey's work, and was influenced by it in minor details. (See on this point Brugger, *Zt. f. fr. Sp. u. Lit.*, XX (1898), 122 ff.; Ferd. Lot, *Rom.*, XXVIII (1898), 47, n. 2). On the prevailing vice alluded to by Marie, see, however, Alwin Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Leip., 1879, I, 455, n. 3, 456, n. 1, 457.

queen, who, we should think, would be most eager to get him away from court lest he betray her infidelity. In *Guingamor*, we remember, the queen in a similar situation, far from trying to keep the knight at court, urges her lord to propose to him the boar-hunt from which, as she knows, ten others who have already undertaken it have never returned.

The Potiphar's wife scene appears to have been shifted from the position it occupies in *Lanval*,¹ when another device was adopted to make a suitable occasion for the knight's betrayal of his secret love. The king is represented as having the queen placed, *desfublée*, on a high balcony to show off her beauty, and as then asking his courtiers if they have ever seen anyone more beautiful. All of course praise her, as they are expected to do—all but Gt. His silence is noticed, and he is thus led, by way of explaining his conduct, to boast of his *amie*.

Graelent, then, cannot unreservedly be called older than *Lanval*, as scholars assert.² In certain very important features it appears to be much less primitive in substance and arrangement, and to contain matter foreign to and inconsistent with the original narrative.

But still there is some justification for the prevalent opinion in that Gt. does seem more primitive in some respects than Marie's lay. In the first place, the scene in *Lanval* is laid at Arthur's court and Guinevere plays the part of the forth-putting queen. Originally, there can be little doubt, the hero of our lay was not a knight of the Round Table, and the Arthurisation of the poem is evidence of a comparatively late redaction. Still, neither lay is old enough in its present form to make Arthur's appearance in it remarkable. Stories of the great king had been for a long time on everyone's lips, and ere this many a Breton hero had doubtless given up his independent existence and joined the brilliant company of Arthurian knights. It is interesting, however, to observe

¹ On the reason for this shift, see below, pp. 168 ff.

² For example, Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, p. 324; G. Paris, *Hist. Litt.*, xxx, 9.

that *Lanval* is the only one of Marie's lays in which Arthur plays a part, and further that his association with it has no effect whatever on the plot. The lay is not worked over to suit the new conditions. The lines in which Arthur and his knights are mentioned could be cut out bodily without affecting the story.

In the second place, Gt. contains an episode not in Marie which I believe to have been in the original source. I refer to that part of the lay which tells of the hero's relations with the mayor's daughter. In all probability the hero's poverty is to be explained by the fact that though he had been long engaged by the king to help him in a war he was waging, he had received no pay for his services, and had spent all he had brought with him to court. The king was deliberately withholding his reward for fear the knight should leave him. Marie mentions in opening that the king was carrying on war, but makes no further reference to the situation to explain his conduct. No reason whatever is stated for not giving gifts to L. as to the others of his court; yet this ignoring of L. when Arthur was distributing presents is represented as habitual.

Gt. finds himself alone one day in great need at the house of a citizen of the town, all the household being absent at a dinner except his host's daughter. She takes pity on the poor knight and asks him to dine with her, but he declares that he has no desire to eat. He would gladly go riding in the country, but he has no saddle or bridle. The maiden provides him with this equipment, and he rides off on an old horse, which totters beneath him. His plight attracts the attention of the passers-by. They comment on his evident poverty and jeer at him. Finally he reaches a meadow, where he alights, lets his horse loose to graze, and lies down with his ragged mantle beneath his head.

This episode, which, as we shall see, is preserved rather more fully in Thomas Chestre's English version, appears to have been in Marie's source also. At all events, she has in

her brief introduction, which gives one the impression of being much condensed, a passage which cannot be explained except as a reminiscence, though perhaps an unconscious one, of the original situation.

The knight, we read, "qui tant aveit le rei servi," and who yet is in sad poverty, issues alone from the town to *esbaneier*. And in this connection it is said that "sis chevaux tremble forment" (46). There is no hint of his horse being in ill condition, and yet it "trembles greatly." This is unintelligible unless we suppose it to be a reminiscence of a fuller introductory account similar to that in *Gt.* and *Chestre*. Compare particularly the words of the English poet:

Launfal dyȝte hys courser
Wythoute knaue oþer squyer,
He rood wyth lytyll pryde.
Hys hors stod and fel yn þe fen,
Wherfore hym scornede many men.
Abowte hym fer and wyde (211 ff.).

It is clear that Marie either had before her an imperfect account or deliberately omitted the whole scene. She may have thought that it was ill suited for a courtly audience, or that it detracted from the dignity of any Arthurian hero to represent him in such a plight, justly laughed at by common people. At all events, the opening fifty lines of *Lanval* are clearly a condensation of the original introduction.

The view we hold with respect to the relations of *Gt.* and the lay of Thomas *Chestre*¹ will probably affect our opinion concerning the age of the matter which these two poems have

¹ Edited first by G. Ellis, *Le Grand d'Aussy's Fabliaux*, translated by G. L. Way, London, 1800, 2nd ed., 1815; again by Ritson, *Ancient Eng. Met. Romances*, London, 1802 (ed. Goldsmid, Edin., 1885, II, 1-33; or, with *Lib. Desc.*, separately, 1891), but best by Erling, Kempton, 1883; cf. Ward, *Cat. of Roms.*, I, 416. The shorter English version *Sir Lambewell* may be found in *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, London, 1867, I, 142 ff.; Kittredge, "Launfal," *Amer. Journal of Philology*, x, No. 1; cf. Zupitza, *Herrig's Archiv*, LXXXVIII, 68; Kaluza, *Engl. Studien*, XVIII, 168 ff.; Sarrazin, *id.*, XXII, 331 f.

in common, but which is not to be found in Marie. And yet before we can solve this problem, we must know what relation the other English version, *Sir Landavall* (*Lambewell*), bears to Marie and Chestre. This last question admits of a definite answer. A minute, independent examination of the English lays, has shown me that the family tree which Prof. Kittredge has arranged in his admirable discussion of the English versions of *Launfal* is certainly correct. Scholars are wrong who assert that the short version is but a condensation of Chestre's poem. Nevertheless, there is obviously very close agreement between them. In many long passages the language is almost identical. I have counted no less than 83 cases in which the same rhyme is employed, and in 50 more the same word is used in both poems to end other lines. Thus, of the 632 lines in *Lambewell*, 216 end with the same word as the corresponding ones in *Launfal*, and there are many others in which the alteration is obvious and the reason for it easily discernible. There is only one possible explanation of this situation: Thomas Chestre utilized freely the earlier rhymed English translation of Marie's lay. There is no evidence to prove that he was familiar with the work of the Anglo-Norman poetess in the original. His poem, however, is 1044 lines long, compared with the 623 in the translation (535 in R.), and 664 in the French. It is evident, therefore, that he has added considerable new material. What is the nature of his amplifications?

We may first eliminate a passage of 108 lines (505-612) which tells how L. overcomes a Lombard knight, Syr Valentyne, who has heard of his fame and challenges him to fight. L. travels from Brittany to Lombardy to accept the challenge, and not only slays his opponent but also many of the "lordes of Atalye." This episode is clear padding. It is only interesting to us at present as showing Chestre's eagerness to expand his narrative. He is simply doing on a small scale what many mediaeval writers had done before him, amplifying a Breton

lay into a romance by adding to it incidents borrowed from various and unlike sources.

But the most interesting of Chestre's additions to the earlier English translation are those which present material found in Gt. but not in Marie. We have already seen how the two poems, Gt. and Lf., agree in the scene with the daughter of his host, how she invites him to dine with her (cf. his reply, "Jeo n'ai cure de mangier," 178, and "To dyne have I no herte," 195) and later gives him a saddle and bridle, with which he rides away on a broken-down horse. His poor equipment in each case attracts attention. Cf.

Cil et celes qui l'esgardèrent
L'escarnirent mult è gabèrent (189-90).

and

Wherefore hym scornede many men
Aboute hym fer and wyde (215-16).

He rides on, however, to the forest where (though in different ways) he discovers the beautiful fay.

We may now note the other significant agreements between Lf. and Gt., as opposed to Marie :

1. After his meeting with the fay, the knight leaves in the morning just as he had come, without change of raiment, without attendant. He returns to the city and goes at once to his chamber. He is there looking out of the window when he sees messengers approach, who bear him treasures from his *amie*.

2. The two most important presents given him are a beautiful steed and an attendant squire, neither of which are mentioned by Marie. The squire (in Lf. called Gyfre) is sent by the fay to pay Lf.'s debts and arrange his affairs. He says to Gt. (349 f.) :

Vos gages vus aquiterai
De vostre ostel garde prendrai.

Cf. Lf., 418 ff. :

All that Launfal had borwyth before
Gyfre, be tayle and be score,
Yald hyt well and fyne.

The presents are similar in the two poems. In Gt. the messenger displays "Buins dras à sun Segnur vestir" (367), rich clothes (362-5), "or et argent" (366). In Lf. they appear "some with sylver, some wyth gold" (379), "wyth ryche clothes, and armure bryght" (382). No particular gifts are spoken of in Marie.

3. In both cases the knight has an interview with his host, who is now most gracious.

4. In Marie there is no mention of the clerics in the list of those helped by the hero. In Lf. we read that he gave to the "*relygyons*" and in Gt. to the "*croisiés*" (in the same connection in both places).

5. In Gt. we learn that :

El païs n'a turneiement,
Dunt il ne seit tus li premiers,
Mut est amés des chevaliers (402 ff.).

Lf. has a description of a tournament, which is not found elsewhere, but which may have been suggested by some such remark as the above. It begins thus :

Alle the lordes of Karlyoun
Lette crye a turnement yn the toun
for love of Syr Launfal (432 ff.).

6. In Lf. and Gt. the king calls together his followers to a feast, at which the subsequent events take place.

Semonneit ses Baruns par ban,
Tus ceux qui de lui rien teneient,
E à sa Cort od lui mangeient,
Serveient le par grant amur (412 ff.).

Cf.

For King Artour wold a feste holde.
Of erles and barons bolde,
Of lordynges more and lesse (619 ff.).

7. In Gt., after judgment has been passed on the knight, respite is given him for a year (519). In Lf. it is put at "twelve moneth and fourtenyght" (815), the last words

being probably added for the sake of rhyme. In M. no length of time is mentioned.

8. In Lf. and Gt. the knight goes from the court to his own lodging. He finds, of course, in all versions that he has lost his *amie*, but in Lf. and Gt. he discovers that the squire she has given him has also disappeared (cf. Lf. 728, 737, and Gt. 502 ff.).

9. When the messengers come, they alight at the gate in Gt. and Lf.; in M. they ride straight up to the king's dais (cf. Gt. 569-71 and Lf. 860-61).

10. Only in Gt. and Lf. is the saddle and other equipment of the fay's "palfrey" described. Its great value is emphasized (cf. Gt. 602 ff. and Lf. 949 ff.).

11. In both cases the hero has a faithful horse which laments the loss of its master (see below, p. 158 ff.).

These agreements, especially the interview with the host's daughter, the riding-out on the old horse, the return to the chamber in the same attire, the attendant squire and the splendid horse bestowed by the fay, the disappearance of the former when the pledge of secrecy is broken, and the lamenting steed, are very definite. There are only two ways of explaining them: either Chestre borrowed direct from Gt., or both drew from a common source in which the story was more complete than in Marie.

Before deciding this question, it should be noted that the English poem has also features in common with *Désiré*,¹ a lay very closely connected with the Lanval cycle, which likewise tells of a young knight who has secret relations with a fay, whose love he loses by making open confession of it. Here, too, we find that the fay sends the knight a servant (p. 29), and definite presents. One of these, an *anel d'or* through which he is able to control as much gold and silver as he desires, reminds us of the *alner*² of silk in which Lf. always

¹ Ed. Francisque Michel, *Lais Inédits*, Paris, 1836, pp. 5 ff.; cf. *Strengleikar*, pp. 37 ff.

² In Marie's lay of *Milun* an *anel d'or* serves as a means of recognition of a son by his father. The following lines may perhaps throw light on the relation of the *alner* to the rest of the gift:

found a mark of gold, a sort of Fortunatus' purse. In both cases this gift vanished when the hero broke his vow of secrecy. Moreover, the beginning and ending of the two poems are similar. Chestre represents Lf. as begging Arthur for leave to go to his own home (giving as a reason the death of his father). Cf. *Désiré*, p. 16:

Désiré prent del rei congé;
En sa terre en est alez
A Calatir où il fu nez.

Compare, however, particularly the following passage at the end of *Désiré*:

La damoisele ad pris cunzé;
En sun país s'en volt aler,
N'aveit cure de sojourner:
'Muntez, fet-ele, Désirez;
Ensemble od mei vus irrez. . . .
Désirez munte, si s'en va
Od s'amie ki l'enmena.
Od li remeist en tele manere
Ke pus ne repeira arere,
De retourner n'ot-il mès cure (pp. 36-37).

With these words from *Launfal*:

þe lady lep an hyr palfray
And bad hem alle haue good day,
Sche nolde no lengere abyde; . . .
þe knyȝt to horse began to sprynge,
Anoon wythout any lettynge
Wyth hys lemman away to ryde (1009-16).
þus Launfal wythouten fable
pat noble knyȝt of þe rounde table
Was take ynto fayrye
Seþþe saw hym yn hys lond no man (1033 ff.).

"al col li pendirent l'anel
e une almosniere de seie
avuec le brief que nuls nel veie" (96 ff.).

Milun also went about "chercher les turneiemenz" (376). Cf. Ywain's ring given him by his lady; see Ahlström, *Mélanges Wahlund*, pp. 297-98. There are numerous instances of such magic rings.

The other poems have all a different ending. In M. the fay pays no attention to the knight; but when she is leaving he jumps from a *perron* on her horse behind her, and rides away with her to Avalon. In Gt. too, the fay heeds not her *ami* when she leaves the court. He rides after her through a forest to a river. He wishes to follow her further but she bids him not attempt to cross the stream; he is sure to drown if he does. He, however, plunges in after her, gets separated from his steed, and is about to sink, when, at her companions' intercession, the fay rescues him, and replaces his wet garments by her own mantle.

En sa terre l'en ad mené
Encore dient cil du païs
Que Graelent i est tous vis (708 ff.).

Gt. is entirely unlike Lf. in this final scene; for in Gt., as in M., the fay appears resentful when leaving court, while in Lf. and D. she rides away happily with her *ami*. And yet Gt. and Lf. agree in mentioning the fidelity of the hero's horse. In Gt. are sixteen lines on this subject, from which we learn that the knight's horse was disconsolate at the loss of his master. He went about in the forest neighing loudly. It was impossible to catch him. But tradition said that every year at the time when he had lost his master, he returned to the stream, and manifested distress by his stamping and neighing.¹ This

¹Gt. has no name for the horse, but in Chestre it is called *Blaunchard*. This is found elsewhere as the name of a horse, e. g., in *Sir Gengerides* (ed. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club, Hertford, 1865, ll. 4146, 4447, 4825, 7951, and especially 9280). Cf. 4825-6:

Blaunchard he spored, his goode stede,
That as the winde ondre him yede.

Again in *Garin le Lohérain*, ed. P. Paris, p. 238, we read of *le bon liamier* called *Blanchart*: "Begon n'eût pas donné Blanchart pour cent marcs de deniers." Cf. Raimbert de Paris, *Chev. d'Ogier de Danemarche*, 9899 ff.:

Hon li amaine *Bauçant* son arragon
Ainc an si bon ne monta li frans hons
Fors seul *Baiart*, etc.

certainly has some connection with the following passage in Lf.:

Every yer, upon a certayn day,
Me may here Launfales stede may
And hym se wyth syȝt (1024 ff.).

But where Chestre got the rest of the same stanza we cannot say.

Ho þat wyll þer axsy justus,
To kepe hys armes fro þe rustus,
In turnement oþer fyȝt,
Dar he neuer forther gon,
þer he may fynde justes anoon
Wyth syr Launfal þe knyȝt (1027 ff.).

The feature of the lamenting horse, found in Gt., but nowhere else in our cycle, except in Chestre, who borrowed from Gt., is paralleled in Celtic tradition. The most famous Celtic instance of a devoted horse is Cuchullin's Grey (*liad*)

The horse *Baiart* is really the hero of the romance of *Renaud de Montaubon*. But it is particularly interesting that a horse *Baiart* plays an important part in the *Lai del Doon* (Paris, *Lais Inédits, Rom.*, VIII, 61 ff). He was faster than a swan and his master would not have parted with him for two castles. The conclusion of Gt. is strikingly like that of the lay of *Doon*:

L'aventure du bon destrier
L'aventure du chevalier
Cum il s'en ala od sa Mie,
Fu par tute Bretaigne oïe,
Un lai en firent li Bretun,
Graalent-Mor l'apela un.

De lui et de son bon destrier,
Et de son filz qu'il ot molt chier,
Et des journées qu'il erra.
Por la dame que il ama,
Firent les notes li Breton
Du lay c'om apele Doon.

The horse in Lf. was doubtless called *Blaunchard* rather than *Baiart* because Gt.'s horse was white (*Sum blanc cheval fist amener*, 641). These two names, it should be noted, are elsewhere confused in different versions of one and the same romance: in the English prose *Ipomedon* (ed. Kölbing, Breslau, 1889, pp. 341, 348) we read of a horse called *Blaunchard*, while in the metrical English version A (*id.*, ll. 3551, 4152) it is named *Blokan* (*Bloncan*), which corresponds to *Baucan* in the French of Hue de Rotelande (ed. Kölbing and Koschwitz, ll. 4428, 4464). Hertz points out (*Spielmannsbuch*, pp. 350 f.) that the names of horses are usually taken from their color, e. g., *Morel* (black), *Fauvel* (fox), *Sorel* (sorrel), *Liart* (bright grey), *Baiart* (bay), *Ferrant* (iron-grey), *Bauzant* (dappled), etc.; cf. the *Lai du vair Palefroi* (Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux*, I, 164 ff.); also the names of Cuchullin's horse, *The Grey of Macha*, and of Sigurth's, *Grani*.

of Macha.¹ This marvellous steed knew in advance of its master's impending death, and when being harnessed before the great defeat on Muirthenne "tears of dusky blood" coursed down his cheeks. In the battle the Grey of Macha protected Cuchullin so long as his soul was in him, and "wrought three red onsets around him. And fifty fell by his teeth and thirty by each of his hoofs. Hence is the saying: 'Not keener were the victorious courses of the Grey of Macha after Cuchullin's slaughter.'" We have also, as Miss Hull notes, the interesting story of St. Adamnan's old white pack-horse,² which, fully aware that its master was about to leave it, came up to the Saint, and "began to utter plaintive cries and like a human being to shed copious tears on the Saint's bosom, foaming and greatly wailing. . . . The Saint blessed the work-horse, which turned away from him in sadness."

It is, however, just possible that this feature got to the Bretons, like the story of Wayland, through the Normans; for we have no parallel to the conduct of Graelent's horse closer than that of Sigurth's in the so-called *Second* (or *Old*) *Lay of Guthrún* in the Elder Edda,³ paraphrased in the *Volsungasaga* (ch. 32).

Like Gt.'s horse, Grani escaped when his master left the world, and wandered about in distress, showing his grief by his mournful neighing and strange behavior. As Guthrún relates: "Grani made great mourning when he saw his lord wounded. I went to speak with him, as with a man, but he

¹ See Eleanor Hull, *The Cuchullin Saga in Irish Literature* (Grimm Library, No. 8), London, 1898, pp. 244, 254, 260 ff.; cf. the description of the steed in the "Wooing of Emer," *op. cit.*, p. 61.

² *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, ed. Reeves (Historians of Scotland, vol. vi), Bk. iii, p. 96.

³ *Norœn Fornkvæði*, ed. Bugge, 1867, p. 266, sts. 4, 5; cf. *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, I, 317. This lay was written not later than ca. 950; see Finnur Jónsson, *Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, Copenhagen, 1893 ff., I, 297. The names of the steeds of the Old Norse gods are mentioned in Snorri's *Gylfaginning*, ch. 15. On magic horses see Reiffenberg, *Chevalier au Cygne*, I, cxv.

lowered his head to the ground: the horse knew that his master was dead." The French poet tells of Gt.'s horse that "Pur sun Seignur grant dol mena." Far and wide were heard

La noise et le friente, et le cri
Ke li bons chevaus demenot
Pur sun Seignur que perdu ot (724 ff.).

It was Grani which Sigurth loaded with Fáfnir's treasure, and which he rode across the flickering flame about Brynhild. Mention is made of this famous steed in the Lay of Wayland (st. 14), which contains the swan-maiden story so closely related to part of *Gracilent*.

Chestre's additions to his English original cannot all have come from any one source. We have seen that his work is based on Marie's version, that it has a large number of features in common with Gt., and that it contains an extra-neous Valentyn¹ episode. We have noted also several other features of minor importance which are paralleled in *Désiré* and elsewhere.² On general principles it is hardly likely that

¹ Chestre may have taken this name from the romance of *Valentine and Orson* (*Sans Nom*), which was popular in his day. A summary of it may be found in Ashton's *Romances of Chivalry*, 1887, pp. 235 ff. As Ashton says: "This romance is undoubtedly of French origin, and the British Museum has a fine ms. of it (10 E. iv. Royal). The earliest known printed copy is one by Jac. Maillet, *Lyons*, 1489, and it was a favorite both with the early French and Italian presses." It was printed by the early English printers, Wynkyn de Worde and Copland. An old Swedish version was published in 1846 (*Samlingar utg. af Svenska Fornskrift-sällskapet*, III). Cf. G. Paris, *Rom.*, xxvii, 325-26. A *Valentin* is mentioned in Wace's *Brut*, l. 6121.

² Lf., too, agrees, strangely enough, with *Friedrich von Schwaben* in certain seemingly significant points: 1. Each hero had served his king for ten years; 2. Each had to send his followers from him because of his poverty: in Hermes' summary of the German poem (*Germ.*, vii, 98) we read: "nachdem all sein geld verzehrt ist, sieht er sich genöthigt, die diener die ihn begleiten, nach hause zu schicken und allein weiter zu ziehen"—Lf. has to part with his two followers because all his money is spent (see 127-180); 3. In F. von S. the father of the hero's *amie* is the daughter of King Triamer of Arabia—in Lf. she is a king's daughter and is herself called Tryamour (see above, p. 147, n.). These features in the German poem are

Chestre at his late date, nearly three centuries after L. and Gt. were written, should have before him the earlier stories from which Marie and the author of Gt. drew, particularly as we have no evidence whatever that the story of Lanval was ever written down except in the forms still preserved. Chestre's apparent eagerness to lengthen his narrative by adding details or incidents of various kinds would easily explain his turning from Lf. to the parallel lay of Gt. for whatever new matter he could get. He paid no attention to the swan-maiden interpolation, because it was inconsistent with the account of the English poem he had made up his mind to follow; but he borrowed everything else he could suitably, and worked them with considerable skill into his own work.

I may mention here another consideration which would seem to show clearly that Chestre borrowed from the particular poem Gt. rather than that both drew from the same source. In Gt., because of the misplacing of the Joseph and Potiphar's wife episode at the very beginning, instead of having it superinduce the revelation of the hero's *amie*, the relations between the knight and the queen are strained from the outset.

La Roïne mult l'en haï
Quant ele à lui del'tut failli,
A sun seignur mal le meteit,
E volentiers en mesdiseit (137 ff.).

She reveals later what really rankled in her mind when, at the time of the exhibition of her beauty, she says to the King:

Bien sai qu'il m'a piéça haïe
Jeo cuit qu'il a de moi envie (441-2).

Gt.'s taciturnity when all others are echoing a hollow word of praise seems to have been prompted primarily by his contempt for her. Had it not been for this, he would probably

not really connected with the swan-maiden episode, however, and may simply be taken as additional evidence that its author was familiar with the same sort of tradition that found its way into Thomas Chestre's poem.

not have been disposed to withhold the insignificant tribute to her beauty formally asked of him. He is, however, forced by this reticence to boast of his *amie*.

In M. there is no mention of any anterior dislike for the queen, and all the trouble is represented as coming suddenly from the rejection of her proposal of love. And yet, though this is the situation in Lf. also, we are told at the very beginning of the poem that "Syr Launfal lyked her [the queen] noght" (44), and for the same reason as in Gt.: she wished to have "lemmanys unther her lord" (47).¹ The queen, moreover, is represented in the early part of the poem as disliking Lf., though the reason is not given, and when, after his departure from court, his two squires bring back word that all is well with him, she "rues it sore," and would have him "in paynys more and more" (180). Chestre, however, seems to forget this situation entirely, and later makes the queen herself say to Lf., with whom she has managed to obtain a private interview:

Sertaynliche, syr knyȝt,
I haue þe louyd wyth all my myȝt
More þan þys seuen ȝere;
But þat þou louye me,
Sertes y dye for loue of þe,
Launfal my lemman dere (676 ff.).

This inconsistency is in neither M. nor Gt. It could not have been in any earlier source. It is explicable, I believe, only on the hypothesis that Chestre revised the older translation of Marie's lay under the influence of Gt., from which poem he introduced the disturbing feature of the mutual dislike of queen and knight.

In just what form Marie found the Lanval story it is difficult to say precisely. In her narrative the sequence of

¹ Guinevere's reputation as an adultress was by this time well established. Cf. the ballad of *King Arthur and King Cornwall* (Child, No. 30) in which the latter says (st. 24) that he has had a daughter by King Arthur's wife, and refers to the King as "that kindly cockward."

events is most natural and no extraneous episodes are inserted. Yet at the same time it is clear that in parts, especially in the introduction, her account is much condensed and would not be entirely intelligible had we not a fuller version of certain incidents in Gt. and Chestre. Marie may of course have been following traditions which were incomplete in these particulars, but it is rather more likely that she purposely omitted them, thinking to make her narrative more interesting by relieving it of unessential matter. Rarely, if ever, I fancy, did Marie make additions of any length to the stories she put into rhyme. She seems to have been faithful to tradition in all she has recorded, though she probably did not feel constrained to tell all she knew. For originality in conception or combination we look in vain in her work. The great success she achieved, was apparently due to her graceful, flowing style, her good taste, and possibly to her unusual opportunities. She found the Breton stories popular; she made them suitable and charming reading for knights and ladies, and in so doing perpetuated her own name.

The central theme of Lanval is also embodied in the Italian poem *Pulzella Gaia*,¹ which seems to have been composed in the fourteenth century, though preserved only in a MS. of the fifteenth.² Over two-thirds of this poem, however, deals with other matter, and the Lanval incidents do not form the real kernel of the story, as has been generally supposed. Here, too, the hero (it happens to be Gawain-Galvano in this case) gains the love of a fay, though in a way entirely unlike that in the lays. She is called P. G., and is the daughter of Morgana. When he leaves her, she gives him a ring able to supply all his needs, and by which he can summon her to his side. She imposes on him the restriction that he must not tell of her love. When he returns to court, and astonishes all by his riches, the queen summons him to her and offers him her

¹ Ed. Pio Rajna, "Per nozze Cassin-D'Ancona," Florence, 1893, Sts. 15-51; cf. the review of Luigi Morissengi, *Giornale Storico*, xxi, 478; G. Paris, *Rom.*, vii, 23.

² See *Rom.*, vii, 23.

love. He rejects her offer and she plots his ruin. A tourney is proclaimed at which every knight is expected to tell of his lady, and Gawain, moved by her taunts, boasts of the charms of his. The queen thereupon proclaims that any one who cannot prove his assertions shall lose his life. Gawain, finding that his ring has lost its power, sees no way to escape death, and prays for his *amie*. But to no avail. On the appointed day he is about to be executed, and his many friends are lamenting the fate of their beloved companion, when P. G. appears with an immense following of knights and damsels, justifies by her beauty his assertions, and rescues him from death. She chides the knight, whose disobedience has brought misery to her, and goes away without him. Finally, after many adventures, he rescues her from the dungeon where she has been imprisoned by her mother Morgana.

This account is evidently based on the Lanval version of the story. With Gt. it presents no agreement in any feature in which that lay differs from Marie's. It has, for example, no trace whatever of the swan-maiden episode, and the queen's proposal does not come until after the hero has won the love of the fay.

Another Italian poem, *Lo Bel Gherardino*,¹ ascribed to Pucci, and probably written about 1335, also tells of an impoverished knight who gains the love of a fay and is given by her rich presents, which all vanish when he reveals their source.

The fifteenth-century poem *Liombruno*² is also, as Köhler shows, closely connected with the Lanval cycle. L., a fisher's son, becomes the husband of a fay, Madonna Aquilina. When they separate, she gives him a magic ring which

¹ Miss Lucy A. Paton has called my attention to this story. See D'Ancona, *Una Poesia et una Prosa di A. Pucci*, Bologna, 1870, p. 15.

² See Warnke, *Lais*, p. lxxxiv. R. Köhler cites also a large number of Italian and other popular tales which are related to this story. Morissengi (*Giorn. Stor.*, xxi, 478) believes *Florimont* to be more closely connected with our cycle than it really is.

procures for him all he wishes, but at the same time she forbids him to reveal his secret love. When he reaches his home, he participates in a tourney, the prize to the victor being the hand of a king's daughter. He wins, but declines the match, boasting that he already possesses a more beautiful *amie*. He is thrown into prison for this offense and can only be freed if he proves his statements within thirty days. He is in dire distress; but on the thirtieth day his lady appears, preceded by two other damsels, each of whom the king takes to be the hero's wife. She rescues Liombruno, but immediately after withdraws, not without reproaching him for his disobedience. He has many adventures before he wins her back.

IV.

Having examined the relations of the different versions of our story to one another, I should like now to discuss briefly the antecedents of its main theme—that, namely, of the mortal who enters suddenly and unexpectedly into relations with a beautiful supernatural mistress, who grants him her love, and bestows upon him rich gifts, but makes secrecy a condition of the continuance of their intercourse. The hero forgets this restriction in the excitement of extraordinary events at the king's court, and permits himself to boast of his *amie*, in such a way that his lord regards his words as a personal insult, and has the knight placed in bonds, to be finally condemned to severe punishment, or death, if within a certain time he cannot produce the lady of whom he has boasted, and prove the truth of his statements regarding her. Much to the astonishment of all at court, the knight's *amie* comes in time to save him, but is forced to act in accordance with the warning previously given and rewards her lover's disobedience as she has foretold.

It were out of place here to enter into a detailed examination of the countless stories which tell of supernatural women and their mortal favorites, or even of the nature of Celtic

fairy mistresses and their rôle in mediaeval romantic literature.¹ I would, however, call attention to the fact that we have in early Celtic tradition a story which presents a very close parallel to the central theme in *Graelent* and *Lanval*—so close, indeed, that the summary of the lays which I have just given may be applied to it equally well. I refer to the tale of the “Debility of the Ultonian Warriors,” of which Windisch published in 1885 two versions,² the older to be found in the *Book of Leinster* (a manuscript of ca. 1150), the other, more complete, in a fifteenth-century manuscript (Harl. 5280) in the British Museum. The older account is evidently condensed, but the younger appears to represent the story as it existed long before the *matière de Bretagne* began to be worked up into French lays or romances. I shall here follow the longer version, using Miss Hull’s translation, but will advance no agreement between it and our lays in which it is opposed to the form of the story already recorded before Marie wrote, and certainly of much earlier date.

“There lived on the heights and in the solitudes of the hills a rich farmer of the Ultonians, Crundchu mac Agnoman by name. . . . For a long time he lived without a wife. As he was one day alone on the couch in his house, he saw coming into the mansion a young, stately woman, distinguished in her appearance, clothing and demeanour. . . . For a long time they dwelt together. Through his union with her, he increased yet more in wealth. His blooming appearance was delightful to her.

“Now the Ultonians frequently held great assemblies and meetings. All, as many as could go, both of men and women,

¹See on this matter Alfred Nutt, “The Happy Otherworld,” in *The Voyage of Bran* (Grimm Library, No. 4), London, 1895; *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, 1888, p. 232.

²*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Classe*, 1884, pp. 336 ff.; cf. D’Arbois de Jubainville, *L’Épopée Celtique en Irlande*, Paris, 1892, I, 320 ff.; Eleanor Hull, *The Cuchulinn Saga* (Grimm Library, No. 8), London, 1898, pp. 96 ff.

went to the gathering. 'I, too,' said Crundchu, 'will go like every one else to the assembly.'

"'Go not,' said his wife, 'lest you run into danger by speaking of us; for our union will continue only if you do not speak of me in the assembly.'

"'Then, indeed, I will not utter a word,' said Crundchu.

"The Ultonians gathered to the festival, Crundchu also going with the rest. It was a brilliant festival, not alone in regard to the people, but as to horses and costumes also. There took place races and combats, tournaments, games and processions.

"At the ninth hour the royal chariot was brought upon the ground, and the king's horses carried the day in the contests. Then bards appeared to praise the king and the queen, the poets and the Druids, his household, the people and the whole assembly. (The people cried), 'Never before have two such horses been seen at the festival as these two horses of the king: in all Ireland there is not a swifter pair!'

"'My wife runs quicker than these two horses,' said Crundchu.

"'Seize the man,' said the king, 'and hold him until his wife can be brought to the race-contest!''"

When the lady hears of her lover's boast, and consequent imprisonment, she recognizes that he has "spoken unwisely" and that their relations have been put an end to by the disclosure against which she has warned him; but she nevertheless goes to court, and saves him from death by demonstrating the truth of his assertions concerning her: she outruns the horses and arrives first at the end of the course. But this exhibition of her power, to which she has been forced by the brutal king, causes her death. She was on the point of being delivered when she began the race, and at the end of the course, before the horses reach the goal, she gives birth to twin children. She utters a cry in her travail. All who hear that cry are suddenly seized with weakness, so that they have no more strength than the woman in her pain.

Indignant at the shameful treatment she has received, she pronounces upon them the curse that they shall continue regularly to be thus afflicted even to the ninth generation. "This is the cause of the *Noinden Ulad*, or the Debility of the Ultonians."

We cannot fail to notice that an earlier fairy mistress story which, as I have indicated, resembles closely, even in its present form, the chief theme of our lays, is here used to explain, without much plausibility, the periodical fits of weakness to which the Ultonians seem to have been subject—a curious idea which is supposed by some to have had its origin in a custom similar to the "*couvade*," but which, according to Miss Hull (p. 293), "has more probably arisen from some form of *ges* or *tabu*, such as are found among all savage nations, and may have been connected with religious or funeral ceremonies."

This story justifies us in asserting that the central theme of the Lanval poems goes back to genuine Celtic tradition. But in addition to contributing so important a bit of evidence, it has special interest for us in this study because it helps to clear up a puzzling problem with regard to the relations between the two lays here specially under discussion. As will be remembered, in L. the Potiphar's wife episode is used to superinduce the hero's boast of the beauty of his *amie*, while in Gt. another means is adopted to bring about this end. In this feature Gt. is distinctly the nearer to the account in the Irish story, both in spirit and in the general situation.

In Gt. we read that it was the custom of the king to summon all his barons and followers once a year (at Pentecost) to a great assembly at court, and that after meat he had his queen placed in a prominent position in order that her beauty might be praised by all at the assembly.

A tox le conveneit loer,
E au Roi dire et afremer
K'il ne sevent nule si bele

Mescine, Dame ne Pucele.
 N'i ot un seul ne le prisast,
 E sa biaté ne li loast,
 Fors Graelent qui s'en taiseit. . . .
 Des autres teneit à folie
 Ki de tutes parts s'escríoient
 E la Roïne si looient (423 ff.).

The king, observing Gt.'s silence, demands the reason. The knight declares that he has a love more beautiful than the queen.

Li Rois cumande k'on le prenge,
 N'aura de lui amur ne pais,
 De prisun n'istera jamais,
 Se cele n'est avant mustrée
 Que de biauté a tant loée.
 Graelens est pris è tenus,
 Mix le venist estre téus (472 ff.).

This episode in Gt. is obviously primitive, and indeed probably represents the situation in an early form of our story. At all events, it clearly points back to a crude condition of society, such as we know to have existed in Great Britain and Ireland in early times, but which had long since disappeared. The Irish tale certainly depicts so rough and brutal a king and so uncultivated a set of courtiers that it must have arisen in a remote period of history. In fact, the whole situation in Gt. is only explicable as a reflection of the manners of a past when, at the great assemblies at court, there were certain strange customs established, one of which we may infer from the words of the story before us: "Bards appeared to praise the king and the queen," and we see that on such an occasion the whole people were expected to join in their laudation. It was doubtless because of the brutality of the scene, because of the feeling that it pictured a condition of affairs no longer possible at any civilized court, that it was replaced by the extraneous Potiphar's wife episode in the Lanval story which both Marie and the author of Gt. had before them. It is evident that this episode must have been in the form of the story the author of Gt. was following in

the main ; for, although he does not use it in the place where it was originally inserted, he did not leave it out altogether, but unwisely transferred it to the beginning of his lay, where, as we have seen (p. 161 f., above), it did nought but cause confusion and inconsistency.

The author of *Gt.* appears, then, to have utilized : (1) a story of *Lanval*, which was doubtless much like that told in the lay of *Marie*, who, as I have said, probably followed her original without much variation in incident or arrangement ;¹ (2) an earlier version of the same theme, which is represented by the Irish story used to explain the debility of the Ultonian warriors, into which the Potiphar's wife episode had not as yet made its way, and which may have had the full introduction found in *Gt.* and *Chestre*, but only summarily in *Marie*, and the feature of the lamenting horse, so closely paralleled elsewhere in Celtic tradition (see above, p. 158 ff.) ; and (3) the story of *Galant* and the swan-maidens, which he clumsily inserted into his story without removing the very obvious inconsistencies that such an insertion occasioned. The author of *Gt.* I imagine as preëminently a combiner, and not even a skillful one. That his lay is very far from representing the original form of the *Lanval* story, except in so far as it preserves in certain episodes features taken from an earlier lost version, must be evident to all. Nor should we forget that the poet was familiar with Cicero's

¹*Graellent* cannot well be, as some have suggested, a working-over of the extant lay of *Lanval*. There are no traces in it of the phraseology and allusions peculiar to *Marie*, no significant agreements with her poem in features where we may suppose it to vary from the original story. Nor could any one reasonably hold the opposite view that *Marie* revised *Gt.* The theory advanced by Amaury Duval, in his discussion of our lays (*Hist. Litt.*, xix, 721), is obviously untenable : " Nous ne saurions dire lequel a été composé le premier. Ce que l'on peut supposer avec quelque vraisemblance, c'est que le lai qui porte un titre breton (*Graëlen*) a été le premier traduit, et qu'en conséquence le lai de *Lanval*, n'en est qu'une contrefaçon. Il est à croire que *Marie* de France (car nous la regardons comme auteur de l'un et de l'autre lais) reproduisit en d'autres termes, et avec quelques additions ce qu'elle avait d'abord écrit en traductrice fidèle."

De Amicitia and the elaborate discussions of love current in the Middle Ages, and that he did not hesitate to introduce into the simple Breton story, which Marie tells with so much more understanding and charm, an extended scholastic harangue, which every one must feel to be out of place in its present position.¹

¹ Macha, the hero's *amie* in the Irish story of *Noinden Ulad*, which we have seen to be so close a parallel to our lays, is said in the longer version to be the daughter of Sainreth mac Imbaith, which D'Arbois interprets (*op. cit.*, p. 325, note) as Strange, son of Ocean, an appropriate name for a king of the otherworld. He points out how similar are Macha's relations with Crundchu to those of Fand with Cuchullin, both Macha and Fand being fays, who have come from the otherworld to live with mortals. Now Fand was the wife of the god Manannain mac Lir, that is, M. the son of Ocean (for Imbaith and Lir are synonymous). Thus Macha the fay is the granddaughter of Ocean, and Fand the fay is also the granddaughter (by marriage) of Ocean. Is it accidental that in Chestre's *Launfal*, the only place where the father of the fay is mentioned, we read:

Her fadyr was king of fayrye,
Of Occient fer and nyze,
A man of mochel myzte? (280 ff.).

The fay Macha came from the lands of "fayrye," where her father was king. Ocean, the name of this king, could easily be transferred to his kingdom, the watery waste under which the realms of fairy monarchs were often placed (cf. King Underwaves). We have plenty of instances of the confusion of the names of places and persons (among them *Gralant*—cf. p. 128, n. 4, above, and *Lanval*—cf. p. 177, below). *Occient*, moreover, cannot well mean anything but Ocean, for if it be a corruption of *Occident*, or *Orient*, the words "fer and nyze" are not suitable, any more than is such a location for the land of "fayrye." Some may find in this slight agreement of Chestre with the Macha story, evidence that the English poet did not borrow direct from Gt., but rather from the source of the incidents the two lays have in common; but I think it very unlikely that such was the case. In settling this question, Chestre's attitude toward his work must be taken into consideration. We must not forget that, like the author of Gt., he too consciously expanded the version of the lay he had before him, and borrowed material from every quarter. Marie said that the fay was carried to Avalon. Chestre represents her father as king of Oleroun (confusing the real with the mythical isle), as well as of "fayrye" and "Occient," evidently not following any one definite story, but simply supplying these details from his general knowledge of fairy lore. My conjecture, that the obscure *Occient* in the English poem is to be explained by the con-

V.

If my conclusions in this paper be justified, what then is their general significance?

In the first place, the story of Wayland and the swan-maidens is now shown for the first time to have been known in the twelfth century in France, and probably in England. We have numerous references,¹ in Old French and Old English literature, and in documents relating to French and English history, to Wayland as a famous smith; but hitherto no one has been able to prove that in either France or Great Britain, or indeed anywhere except in Scandinavia and Germany, did the tradition of Wayland's connection with a swan-maiden perpetuate itself. With such a love story attached to him, it was inevitable that Wayland should come to be represented as a romantic hero. We must not fail to observe that even Wayland the Smith was later conceived of in France as the son of a fay (*ouvrière de faer*); and of the sword *Merveilleuse* we read in *La Fleur des Batailles de Doolin* [*Doon*] *de Mayence*² that it "avoit esté faicte en la forge de Galant; et l'*afila une fée sans mentir*."

If in one of the "Breton lays," of which the Celtic origin may now be regarded as the surest, we find inserted bodily an episode which seems to be taken from Scandinavian tradition, the fact is certainly significant. It shows, just what we should expect, that the Normans did not have long and intimate

fusion of the name of the king of "fayrye" in Irish stories with that of his realm, may prove to be right; but certainly it should not be used as an argument to establish the relations of the versions of our story. Chastre, like Chaucer, lived in a land which they both knew to have been at one time, according to common belief, "fulfild of fayerye," and we must not be too definite in stating just where they got their information on a subject so familiar to all.

¹ See *Vélund le Forgeron*, par G. B. Depping et Francisque Michel, Paris, 1833; English translation, with additions, by S. W. Singer, London, 1847.

² Cited Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 93. This work, though in its present form of the 15th century, is based on a much earlier source.

intercourse with the Bretons without exchanging stories with them, and that we must not be surprised to discover in Armorican tradition many traces of Scandinavian tales, customs and beliefs. It shows further that we must not take it for granted that every so-called "Breton lay" contains pure Celtic material. There are, of course, many poems which bear this name simply because their authors knew that the designation would make their works popular.¹ But with such obvious misnaming I am not now concerned. I wish rather to emphasize the fact that even the most Breton of the Breton lays, in their present form, are combinations of material gathered from various sources, and that no motive in them can be regarded as certainly Celtic without close examination. In *Guigemar*, for example, alongside a hind-messenger, a magic ship and a fay mistress, which may be regarded as Celtic, we find such features as a Gordian knot, a chastity girdle, a temple of Venus on which Ovid's stories are pictured, a wheel of fortune, but above all a transformed Oriental tale of a harem adventure in which a jealous, spy-setting husband detects the *amour* of his young wife, whom he has kept confined in a place apart, and of whose attendant it is stated euphemistically (l. 257) that he was an eunuch. In the charming lay of the *Fraisne* we find not only the idea that the birth of two or more children at one time is evidence of adultery on the part of the mother, which is based on beliefs current all over the world, and a story akin to that of the patient Grissel in Boccaccio and elsewhere in ballads and *mährchen*, but also such Scandinavian features as the exposure of children, and recognized concubinage. *Eliduc* contains a story similar to that of Jonah and the sailors in Scripture, and a long weasel episode, to which nearly thirty parallels have been pointed out in ancient classical writings, works of the Middle Ages, and later popular tradition. And in like manner every Breton lay, if examined from this point of

¹ *Espervier, Ombre, Conseil, Amors, Aristote, Oiselet*, are in no real sense "Breton."

view, would be found to be more or less a mixture of Celtic and foreign material.

Further, the fact that we have occasionally two lays (like *Graelent* and *Lanval*) on the same subject, though clearly by different authors and showing unlike combinations and arrangement of material, is sufficient to prove that there was a great fund of traditional narrative from which authors, drawing what pleased them, and disregarding what was not to their taste, were able to make new lays of old stuff. It is usually impossible to say whether any particular lay-writer was the first to combine the distinct episodes which appear in his or her work; but it does not require much critical acumen to see in almost every lay the hand of a conscious artist. The authors, to be sure, adhere in general closely to tradition so far as the separate incidents are concerned, but they gave themselves free play in combination. Thus we find *Tyolet* made up of two distinct parts, the introduction telling of the boyhood of the hero, so strikingly like that told by Chrétien of Perceval, and the story of the traitorous knight who claims the reward of another's victory, which is found attached to a seneschal in Gottfried's *Tristan*, to Kay in the prose *Perceval* and to other persons in various places. *Doon* tells the same story as *Milun*, but its introductory matter is entirely different, for it embodies incidents, found in other places attached to independent heroes, which are paralleled in the *Dolopathos*, the *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Merchant of Venice* and elsewhere.¹ A comparison of the parallel lays of *Bisclavret* and *Mélion*, by different authors but treating the same subject, will show a like divergence. Not only is one Arthurised while the other is not, but one contains features which are quite at variance with the other story.

We have seen that though Marie was apparently disposed to condense rather than to amplify her narrative in any but minor details, the author of *Graelent* introduced a good deal of new matter unconnected with the original theme, and that

¹ See *Rom.*, VIII, 59.

Thomas Chestre carried on the amplifying process to such an extent that his poem may fairly be called a romance. This development is important to keep in mind when we undertake to discuss the way in which the longer romances grew up, and the material they embody. Marie's lays may be taken to represent in some measure the material which the romance-writers had before them when they wrote. Not that the simple narratives they utilized were all told with the grace of style so characteristic of the Anglo-Norman poetess, but they must have been similar in scope and substance. Marie makes no claim to invention or originality. She does not seem to have done more than recount what she has heard or read. If then her lays show traces, as they unquestionably do, of the combination of unconnected themes, this should probably be attributed to her predecessors, to the minstrels, or story-tellers, whose tales she was content to put into pleasing rhyme. The process of combining separate episodes to make an extended poem, we may well believe, had begun before the time of Marie's contemporary, Chrétien de Troies. He simply carried it one step farther, and devoted his great literary talent to presenting in more attractive form, with more modern courtly flourishes, the stories already existing. Doubtless he himself made new combinations, and in so doing was guided by a poet's sense of appropriateness, choosing such general and subordinate episodes as would contribute best to the development of his hero's character. To him we must certainly ascribe the interesting psychological discussions so numerous in his works. But still his power of invention is not great. His art is shown above all in the way in which he combines and arranges separate stories, or embellishes those already told at considerable length.

Moreover, we must not forget how *Graelent* became the hero of a lay otherwise attributed to a knight called in French *Lanval*, in English *Launfal*, *Landavall*,¹ *Lambewell*,

¹*Landavall* may possibly point to a Latin redaction; cf. *Landavallense Monasterium*, below, p. 177. Chestre's poem is headed *Launfal(us) Miles*.

Lamwell, in Old Norse *Ianual*. This transference to one hero of the adventures originally ascribed to another is very common in the romances. Gawain is not the only one who cuts off the head of a warrior at his own request. Carados and Lancelot do the same thing, to say nothing of Cuchulinn in the *Fled Bricrend*; and the Green Knight has many rivals for the honor of receiving the mysterious blow. The abduction of Queen Guinevere is performed by Meléaguant, Melwas, Milianz, Gazozein, Falerin; and she is rescued by Gawain, Lavaine?, Lancelot, Arthur. The youthful adventures of Perceval are paralleled by those of Peredur, Cuchulinn, Tyolet, Amadan Mor, Guinglain, Wigalois, Libeaus Desconus, Carduino, Mériaduec, Fergus, Floriant, Morien and other heroes. Galahad, as is well known, replaces Perceval in the later stories of the Quest of the Holy Grail. Nothing indeed in the romances is more bewildering, though nothing is commoner, than to find the same adventures performed by several different persons in different places.

Light has, I hope, been thrown by this paper on the relations between the several versions of the Lanval cycle of lays. Just where, however, the different poems were composed is a question I have not here discussed in detail because I am persuaded that it can never be quite satisfactorily answered. I cannot agree with Ahlström (p. 56) that *Graelent* was composed in England. Everything seems to me to indicate that Zimmer and Foerster are right in placing its origin in Continental Brittany. On the other hand, Marie apparently took down her lay in England, where we remember she lived and wrote,¹ and I see no reason to believe that it *must*

¹ In *Lanval* the events are said to take place at *Kardoil*, where Arthur is sojourning to defend *Loengre* (the middle and southern part of England) against the inroads of the Picts and Scots. Zimmer (*Zt. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, XIII, 1891, 93-94), asserts that this is a true picture of the historical situation in northern England in 1092, and that the mention of *Cardoel* as Arthur's residence in the *matière de Bretagne* is a Breton souvenir of the events of 1091-1092 on the Scottish border. He has no doubt (*Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1890, p. 798; *Zt. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, XII, 234, 235 note, 239; XIII,

16 and note) that the lay goes back to Breton sources, and that the *Bretun* mentioned in it are Armorican Bretons, not Cymry. He regards the hero's name as identical with that of the parish of Lanval (Lanvaux) in the present district of Morbihan, France, and thinks that, therefore, the lay probably represents the form of the fay story which circulated in Vannes, "Die *Guigomar* Version aus Leon, die *Graelent* Version aus Cornouaille im letzten Grunde, und romanisierte Bretonen der Haute-Bretagne haben beide Versionen den Franzosen übermittelt."

Loth urges (*Rev. Celtique*, XIII, 1892, 481) that the two names of hero and place may have nothing to do with each other. The oldest forms of the name of the parish, he points out, are *Lanvas*, 1177; *Lauvas*, 12th century; *Lanvaos*, 1264; and there is another *Lanvaux* in Baud. "Lanvaux étant en territoire bretonnant, le sens de ce mot et sa forme primitive d'après les formes jusqu'ici connues, restent incertains. Le nom d'homme *Lanval* peut n'avoir rien de celtique que le premier terme et avoir été formé comme *Perceval*. Lanvaux (au XVII *Landavallense monasterium*) peut n'être qu'une fausse interprétation française d'un mot breton différent."

F. Lot also makes light of Zimmer's contentions (*Rom.*, XXIV, 520; XXV, 12-13), and suggests that Lanval may be a deformation of the same Celtic name to which Lancelot goes back. "Ce nom [Lancelot] n'est certainement pas celtique. Il rappelle *Lancelin*, diminutif ou hypocoristique germanique de Lantbert, Lantfrid, etc. Il n'est pas douteux que ce ne soit *Lancelin* qui ait influencé et déformé un nom celtique qui personne n'a réussi jusqu'ici à reconstituer." (Cf. Foerster, *Karrenritter*, p. xli.)

Freymond remarks, in his account of Version P of the *Livre d'Artus* (*Zf. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, XVII, 1895, pp. 17 note, 19 note): "Ist es reiner Zufall, dass das *Lambale* in der Namensform von Guiomars Vetter *Guivret de Lambale*, an *Lanval* erinnert? In einer Handschrift des Prosatristan findet sich dafür *le comte de Lambale*, was freilich nach Löseth auf einem Versehen beruhen soll. (s. Löseth, *l. c.*, S. 485 und 521 f.)." We remember that *Guiomar* (*Guigemar*, *Guingamor*) is represented by Chrétien as brother of *Graelent Mor*. [The form of this name in the mss. of *Erec* I take to be the same as that in the lay, *Graelen-mor*, the *n* dropping before the *m* (cf. *Graale[nt]* Muer in *Le Roman de la Rose, ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. Servois, S. A. T. F., I, 2537), and regard it as evidence that when *Graelent* was used in combination with *mor*, the final *-t* was often lacking.] Note in this connection that in a continuation of the *Perceval* (ed. Potvin, II, 45, 282 ff.) *Perceval* marries his cousin to one who "Rois fu et sire de *Lanval*: loial."

To this last passage my attention has been called by Dr. Alma Blount, formerly of Radcliffe College, who is preparing an onomasticon of the Arthurian cycle; as also to the account of the parentage of a certain Lanval in the prose *Agravain*, analyzed by P. Paris in the Appendix to Vol. V of his *Romans de la Table Ronde*, pp. 320-321: "Au temps de Joseph d'Arimathie, il y avait sur les marches d'Écosse un roi nommé Eliezer qui fut des premiers à recevoir le baptême. Afin de mieux assurer le salut de son âme, il avait abandonné sa femme et renoncé à la couronne, pour vivre

have originated in Armorica. Zimmer's assertions on this point are open to objection. J. Loth and F. Lot have already shown flaws in his argument, and his chief contention that Arthur's Round Table was absolutely unknown among the Cymry and that therefore a lay which contained a reference to this institution could not but be composed in Brittany, where alone the Round Table was at this time known, Mr. A. C. L. Brown has demonstrated to be unfounded.¹

We are practically certain that the story which was worked up into poetic form in *Graelent* and *Lanval* existed in Ireland and Armorica. I can see no reason why we may not believe that it also existed in the various parts of Great Britain where Celtic languages were at that time spoken. Let scholars dispute if they will whether it was first written down in French and became literature in Great Britain or on the Continent, whether it was brought to England by the Breton auxiliaries of William the Conqueror under the leadership of Alan Fergant, or developed independently in Wales and Cornwall and got into the hands of the Anglo-Normans without ever crossing the Channel,—these matters are profoundly indifferent to anyone whose chief interest in the lay is as a literary monument in a remote period of history, as a fascinating story which charms us to-day as we know it did

en pèlerin des dons que les bonnes gens lui faisaient." One day, during his voluntary exile, he had a dream, in which the Lord bade him return home, where he would find his wife and the son he had begotten the day he had departed. The wife and son were astonished to see again the king whom they had thought dead. He is told that when the boy was born, he was thought to be the fruit of illegitimate love, and that it was not until he had been left unharmed by the two lions into whose den he had been thrown, that he had been recognized as the real heir to the throne. Lanval at once gave back the kingdom to his father; but Eliezer died soon after his return. Lanval is mentioned as one of Arthur's knights in P. Paris, *op. cit.*, II, 250. For other references to him, see *Roman de la Rose, ou de Guill. de Dole*, S. A. T. F., 1893, I, 5497 (*Lanval*, a typical lover); Löseth, *Tristan*, § 185 and p. 467, § 395a ff.; Sommer, *Roman de Merlin*, p. 327; Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*, I, 1677; *Dieu Króne*, I, 2292; *Carle of Carelyle* (Madden, *Sir Gawayne*), p. 188.

¹ *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VII (1900), "The Round Table before Wace."

Goethe in his old age, and La Fontaine before him. We are in no way surprised that Marie's contemporary, Denis Pyramus, although he protested that her lays were "pas du tout verais," still could not withhold this tribute to their popularity :

All love them much and hold them dear,
Baron, count and chevalier,
Applaud their form, and take delight
To hear them told by day or night.
In chief, these tales the ladies please ;
They listen glad their hearts to ease.

In conclusion, I would express the hope that this study may be found to have some value in helping scholars to decide the still much discussed question of the Celtic origin of the Arthurian romances. This interesting and important problem can never be satisfactorily solved until the results of a large number of thorough investigations of particular themes have been presented impartially to the scholarly world. I have endeavored to separate the kernel of the original fairy-mistress story in the Lanval cycle of poems from the material that surrounds it, and to indicate why extraneous features became attached to a theme with which they had at first no connection. This central theme, I have tried to show, is based on Celtic tradition. In at least one instance, then, if my conclusions are correct, a story attached to Arthur in Marie's lay, and closely resembling many other stories told of various knights of the celebrated Round Table, is proved to be of Celtic origin. Even as Guingamor and Guigemar, whose adventures are in the main those of Celtic heroes, Graelent and Lanval came to figure among the followers of the famous British king. If now it is admitted that such material as that we have been discussing is plainly Celtic, we have certainly advanced somewhat toward an end most students of Arthurian romances have in view, a clearer understanding of the contribution of the Celts to the imaginative literature of the world.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO P. 143, ABOVE:

I would not appear to insist unduly on the conjecture I have made with regard to the reason for the *-t* in *Graelent*; for it is a matter of slight importance in my argument. To be sure, I think it the easiest explanation yet suggested. But I am not unaware of the fact that other proper names with a similar ending are written with and without a *-t*, e. g. *Bertran(t)*, *Engran(t)*, *Gontran(t)*. According to Mackel (*Franz. Studien*, VI, 180), the *-ran* in these words is derived from the Germanic stem *hrafna* > Mid-Lat. *ramnus*. Zimmer probably had such names as these in mind when he made his second conjecture that the final *-t* may be due simply to analogy. Moreover, as is well known, a final *-c* sometimes shifts with a *-t*. In the French *Merlin* (quoted above, p. 128, note 3) we have *Grailenc* corresponding to *Graulant* in the English translation; cf. *Floovenc*, *Floovent*; *Romarec* (Wace), *Rumaret* (Lazamon).—I would also remark that we have a romance of *Galeren* (*Galeran*), *Comte de Bretagne*, by Renaut (ed. Boucherie, 1888). The hero's name is sometimes written with a final *-t*; but, as Mussafia points out (*Rom.*, XVII, 439, note), this form is not justified. The name of the hero, *Galeren(t)*, may have been borrowed from the lay of *Graelen(t)*. Renaut was thoroughly familiar with the older lays (cf. ll. 7008 ff.), his poem being nothing but an artistic amplification of Marie's *Fraisne*. In Malory, and elsewhere in English works, one of the knights of the Round Table is called *Gal(l)eron of Galway*. *Galeron* is the name of the heroine in the poem *Ille et Galeron*, written by Gautier d'Arras in 1157 (*Oeuvres*, ed. Löseth, Paris, 1890, II).

W. H. S.